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**BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT:
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND RHETORICAL
INTERVENTION IN MARKETS**

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Dedication

Dedicated to my Father. I love you beyond belief.

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Abstract

BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT: BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND RHETORICAL INTERVENTION IN MARKETS

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Money as symbolic form has tremendous motivating power over the collective. What other force in the modern era can make strangers show up in vehicles to move us wherever we wish to go, or engage in casual sex, or prepare meals for us and cater to our every need, or lead grown adults to spend their adulthood playing the games of children in front of raving fans, or get us to spend two-thirds of our lives away from our native communities in the offices of the wealthy? I suggest that what actors are willing to spend their money on is a snapshot of their ideological, emotional, social and political commitments. As such, contemporary markets are spaces where people consciously or unconsciously construct the world in which they live. Markets, then, are the modern incubators of public awareness. Additionally, I propose that markets are also sites of public intervention and resistance as they are primary grounds for affecting public consciousness either by producing new business systems of communication or by resisting old ones. My proposition: Critical rhetorical scholars must take seriously markets and dollars as sites of resistance in the modern era.

The purpose of this dissertation is to articulate an economic vision of resistance, one that acknowledges the way in which capital is rhetorically constituted. In this project, I will identify how rhetoric constructs markets, the conduits of the monetary symbol, and in turn how markets constitute public consciousness and, therefore, are sites of intervention in the struggle against the neoliberal state. The use of rhetorical force within markets offers a version of resistance where dominant ideologies are challenged, subverted, or reinforced, and where wealth can be redirected to generate sustainable organizations that serve the communal good as defined by the communities for which the organizations serve. As a guiding exemplar and model, I identify the twentieth century Black figurehead, Booker T. Washington, as a critical thinker and model in line with this rhetorical understanding.

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Introduction: The Limits of Modern Black Protest

How many times will we bear witness to dead Black bodies and respond with little more than collective picketing and sparse weekend marches? Failing to address flows of capital, these modes of activism remain ineffective as they do not sufficiently interrupt the ideological, biologic, or political processes of dominant actors. In an era when the symbol of power is often reduced to the presence of money and financing, why are so many scholars, activists, and lay citizens powerless in theorizing and making use of monetary resources for strategies of resistance? Money has tremendous motivating power over the collective. What other force in the modern era can make strangers show up in vehicles to move us wherever we wish to go, or engage in casual sex, or prepare meals for us and cater to our every need, or lead grown adults to spend their adulthood playing the games of children in front of raving fans, or get us to spend two-thirds of our lives away from our native communities in the offices of the wealthy? I suggest that what actors are willing to spend their money on is a snapshot of their ideological, emotional, social, and political commitments. As such, contemporary markets are spaces where people consciously or unconsciously construct the world in which they live. Markets, then, are the modern incubators of public awareness. Additionally, I propose that markets are also sites of public intervention and resistance as they are primary grounds for affecting public consciousness either by producing new business systems of communication or by resisting old ones. My proposition: Critical rhetorical scholars must take seriously markets and dollars as sites of resistance in the modern era.

The purpose of this dissertation is to articulate an economic vision of resistance, one that acknowledges the way in which capital is rhetorically constituted. In this project, I will identify how rhetoric constructs markets, the conduits of the monetary symbol, and in turn how markets constitute public consciousness and, therefore, are sites of intervention in the struggle against the neoliberal state. The use of rhetorical force within markets offers a version of resistance where dominant ideologies are challenged, subverted, or reinforced, and where wealth can be redirected to generate sustainable organizations that serve the communal good as defined by the communities for which the organizations serve. As a guiding exemplar and model, I identify the twentieth century Black figurehead, Booker T. Washington, as a critical thinker and model in line with this rhetorical understanding.

WHY WASHINGTON?

Scholars have long debated the rhetorical legacy of Booker T. Washington, positioning him either as rhetorical compromiser or vanguard.¹ Yet, Washington is mostly known in the academic and public setting as a White accommodationist.² Drawing upon the Burkean notion of the monetary motive,³ I argue that Washington's detractors have failed to pay sufficient attention to the symbolic equations of capital in civic life. As a result, Washington's critics have devalued Washington's economic mission in favor of less potent and superficial political alternatives.

Adolf Reed, Jr. argues that Washington is a "freelance race spokesman; his status depended on designation by White elites rather than by any Black electorate or social

movement.”⁴ Julianne Malveaux argues that Washington is outside of the Black protest tradition and remains a great compromiser to the desires of White folks.⁵ Further, scholars such as Kevin Verney argue that, though Washington was enigmatic, he is principally self-centered, greedy, and lacks a commensurate level of social consciousness given his national prominence.⁶ W.E. B. Dubois’ own treatment of Washington indicts Washington for refusing to acknowledge the role of Black protest and action in acquiring political rights.⁷ For Dubois, whatever economic gains that can be made by Black people in the United States can just as easily be taken away without representation and equal protection under the law. As early as 1935, White scholars critiqued Washington for failing to “see the problem of democracy in industry; he failed to seek an alliance with the labor movement, or with any group that sought to render the existing order along more equitable and more stable lines.”⁸

Yet, as a former slave and Black man working to build an organization in the Tuskegee Institute, an institution designed to serve Black folks in an otherwise prejudiced and hostile South, Washington rhetorically affected how the Southern Public thought about Black education and secured White donor dollars to support Black economic empowerment by direct market intervention. Washington is a critical example of how rhetorical intervention in markets carries within it the capacity to organize and galvanize dominant/subordinate groups, including White supremacists, toward a common goal. To move toward a more potent role for the scholar-activist interested in contesting contemporary power regimes, I suggest we utilize that which makes Washington’s empowerment campaigns so persuasive: attention to the deep needs of the audience.

Specifically, a focus on the continuous adjustment to the *consumer auditor*. The consumer auditor is my own term, defined as the public, or set of publics willing to exchange their own resources, capital, time, and/or labor for other goods, services, or added resources. The consumer auditor could be politicians, corporate boards, or any demographic group subject to influence. Identifying the perceived needs of the consumer auditor, rhetors direct public action by offering solutions to the auditor's actual, real, lived desires, needs, and experiences, thereby influencing the lifeways, ideological commitments, and future trajectories of public consciousness.

In 1895, it was not enough that White folks were in a position of power over Blacks, or that the mythologies of Whiteness convinced southern Whites of an imagined divine origin, or that Blacks were consistently poorer than Whites. The economic depression in the Southern states following the end of the Civil War era left Southern Whites without economic stability.⁹ What White folks want even more than claims to racial superiority, according to Washington, are employment and fiscal opportunity.¹⁰ From his consumer auditor's perceived need, Washington created a rhetorical claim for the advancement of Black folks by harnessing the economic logics within the Burkean monetary motive. Later in this project, I explicate the Burkean monetary motive and how it is central to the argument that markets construct consciousness.

Washington's era bears striking resemblance to our own. Capital is not merely a symptom of political power, but as a symbol, is a defining feature. Washington watched as newly elected Black political offices were vacated without the monetary resources to support Black candidates.¹¹ Much like today, the presence of dollars determines, in part,

who gets to participate in law-making—as evidenced by business and political conglomerates like the American Legislative Executive Council (ALEC), the nonprofit organization that allows state legislators and private business owners to impact and generate national policy—or who is to receive the bailout for committing criminal acts—as in the Economic Stability Act of 2008 when Federal dollars flowed to banks rather than private citizens in response to nefarious banking practices during the American housing crisis.¹²

The modern conflation of democracy and capital is not as much a new phenomenon as it is a new understanding of a foundational orientation endemic to American ideology. In 1776, the ownership of property, including Black people placed into bondage, was a necessary precondition for participation in American “democracy” given that only property owning White men could vote.¹³ Where political aspirations are made possible by campaign dollars and where office holders are necessarily tied to tremendous flows of money, why do scholars rarely think about the way in which markets and monetary symbols remake, undo, challenge, exclude, and make possible our contemporary form of social life? Why do resistance efforts not more closely match and make use of the rhetorical features of the economy for oppositional purposes? And most dastardly, if governments are influenced deeply by the financial commitment of corporations,¹⁴ what does this mean for Black folks who petition the state exclusively in non-market and non-monetary terms?

Neoliberal critiques suggest that free-market capitalism ought to be resisted in non-monetary, non-market terms, and that a better democracy exists outside of the

current model linked to pervasive capital.¹⁵ Most of these analyses, however, fail to articulate practical means toward a viable solution. Indeed, many scholars identify the preconceived neoliberal “solutions” as repurposed capitalistic messages that only serve to perpetuate the modern system.¹⁶ While I do not dismiss these critiques as inaccurate, I demonstrate their limitations and instead, I reframe the neoliberal conversation by identifying the incipient orientation to which neoliberal politics owe their existence: The public *Orientation of Markets* forged in the heart of Europe during the fifth century. The Orientation of Markets is based upon a basic rhetorical premise prominently recapitulated by Barry Brummett:

Humanity’s social life is a fabric of interaction woven from many skeins. These skeins are symbolic forms, patterns embedded in psyche and culture, which invite us to experience part of life in a particular way. Because humans by nature respond to symbols and patterns, symbolic forms have the rhetorical ability to induce cooperation by the public.¹⁷

Thus, the Orientation of Markets is a millennia-long pattern of thinking and doing that bends public seeing toward the pursuit of surplus in and around markets. Following a Burkean logic, I argue that the Orientation of Markets is a guiding framework for public life that arose from the European fear of scarcity and famine following the end of the feudal era and facilitated greater habits of thought and action that gear government toward the amalgamation of profit at the expense of people.¹⁸ This basic capitalist psychosis, facilitated by the state, is guided by an orientation to secure resources birthed during a time of great famine and hunger in Europe.¹⁹ The Orientation of Markets has led the state to recapitulating humans, land, and water as *primarily* assets for exploitation. In my analysis, neoliberalism is only the latest flowering in a 1,500-year development of the

modern state. Thus, government does not merely function *like* a corporation, modern governments *are* corporations that I refer to as the *Corporate State*.

However, beyond merely reframing the contemporary neoliberal conversation, I offer a pragmatic and prudent character—the *rhetorical value builder*—as a way of existing within and resisting the Orientation of Markets whose symptoms include the neoliberalization of the modern state. By consciously aligning the self-interested subject or citizen with the perceived needs of their community auditor(s), we attach powerful market and monetary motives to caring for others, to solving for the needs of the various communities within which we find ourselves. Booker T. Washington represents the rhetorical figure synecdochally: the rhetorical value builder.

We know markets are constitutive of public consciousness. If one were to ask the public to think of the best version of private transportation in the early twentieth century, they might have said “a fast horse.” After the introduction of Ford’s motorized vehicle, people now say “the car.” Foucault argues that Ford’s assembly line, built to suit market demands of speed and efficiency, transformed the modern educational system.²⁰ Privileging rote memorization of small tasks over intuitive or creative thinking, school children are prepared early for factory life as cogs in a machine,²¹ participating in eight-hour long days that mirror the work schedule of factory life. Here, students are not prepared to be owners of land or accessors to the means of production but instead, are prepared as workers for the people who own access to the means of production.²²

Racialized consciousness is no exception. The way we think about African peoples in America is directly linked with Trans-Atlantic slave markets. Here, White

folks agreed that people of a certain “race” could be bought and sold with dollars, provided they were merely kept alive by the “owners.” As David Roediger points out, the very term “indentured servant” is homologous to the modern term “employee.”²³ Both have no access to the means of production, both have their housing and nutritional needs cared for by their payee/owner, unable to secure them on their own, and, both can be terminated freely. Once a market forms that authorizes ownership over peoples’ bodies, time, labor, and capital, secondary markets, like the “job market,” develop and perpetuate the ideological tenets of private property and capital. Indeed, the very end of American slavery is tied to waning job markets of the American North.²⁴ Public consciousness regarding the merits of Black freedom shifted in coordination with the Northern realization that enslaved peoples undermined White economic progress. Additionally, local economic resistance in markets has continued to transform federal policy beyond Emancipation. Consider the Montgomery Bus Boycotts of 1955 where Black rhetors, like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., rhetorically intervened in the busing market through direct boycott. This rhetorical act led to the desegregation of all busing systems in the United States as a direct consequence of rhetorical intervention in the busing market.²⁵

In contemporary sport, where Blackness is often fetishized for entertainment, Black folks are stereotyped as natural, elite athletes. This was not the case one hundred years ago. In fact, until the introduction of Jack Johnson into the professional boxing market, White folks believed Blacks athletically inferior to Whites.²⁶ Additionally, it was the Negro League market that caught the attention of White business owners, leading to the introduction of Jackie Robinson into the White baseball market and transforming

American conceptions of the Black athlete and of Black potential in and around baseball.²⁷

Importantly, it is *not* the automobile, the slave, the athlete, the sport, or the activist alone that is responsible for remaking public consciousness, for any one of these cannot affect public thought until they are publicly spoken and promoted. Instead, it is the marketed messages around these events to the consumer auditor that determine their publicity and their capacity to affect public reality. Changes in marketplaces necessitate changes in how the public lives and believes it ought to live. In other words, markets, themselves constructed by rhetoric, are sensitive to rhetorical influence and constitutive of public consciousness. Before anyone can know what a slave or an “automobile” is, marketing dollars and rhetors must promote them as concepts.

Washington’s program helps us realize a form of resistance that intervenes rhetorically within markets in effort to affect public consciousness. By adjusting a message toward the perceived needs of an audience in a marketplace, not only do we create and make known ideas, products, and services that better address one another, but we also affect the public vision of the world and ourselves. In doing so, we conform to the neoliberal model, but we also do much more: We create counter-organizations that resist dominant media content, products, and pundits that do not align with the vision of the world we wish to call forward, and we create opportunities to see our place in the world differently. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute is but one rhetorical example that illustrates how a Black man, ex-slave, and rhetor can redirect resources from White hands to Blacks in an era and area of direct racialized hostility and aggression toward Blacks.

Tuskegee, then, represents a strategy of resistance toward White aggression, slowly and methodically introducing Whites to the idea that Black education and well-being serves the White communal good. As well, we have little choice. Whether or not we decide to learn how to build value through rhetorical force makes little difference to the myriad marketed messages our families and communities *will* receive every day, for the rest of their lives. Put another way, mass marketing and sales messages are a critical part of shaping public discourse and consciousness, they are accompanied with unchallenged ideological tenets that foster ways of seeing and being in the world. If there is an opportunity to counter these messages and their corresponding movements with messages that more closely resemble the world we wish to take part in, I propose that it is an act of *phronesis* to see it through.

As citizens, we cannot take seriously the perspectives and lifeways of each other and dialogue accordingly if we are unwilling to understand the needs of the various audiences in our communities. It is an act of public *phronesis*, of practical wisdom, to place the perceived needs of the other first as a necessary precondition to our own individual success. Here, we come to take on an “other-focus” a focus aimed at better business and social practices. We move beyond mere neoliberal critiques that argue society dismantle capitalism. Current neoliberal critiques do not offer practical solutions that are congruent with the already deeply felt ways of thinking, living and being in the modern era.²⁸ In an act of pragmatic rhetorical work, I am calling for a better democracy by bending the callous heart provided by the Orientation of Markets back on itself to create meaningful organizations and movements that matter. To do this, we must

understand markets, capital, and the symbol of the capitalist psychosis, the monetary motive, as rhetorically constituted and sensitive to rhetorical intervention. Together, these rhetorical constructs guide human action even more powerfully, perhaps, than any god or religious symbol existing in the modern world. In this formulation, the Black entrepreneur and Black capitalism, often overlooked as symbols of public resistance, can be revisited for their capacity to influence public consciousness through markets.

BLACK CAPITALISM AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Black capitalism is the strategy that seeks to transfer ownership of businesses from White to Black control in effort to provide greater economic equity for Black folks.²⁹ Black capitalism scholarship highlights an intellectual tradition that deserves renewed attention due to its ability to affect publics. Wayne Vilemez and John Beggs argue that Black capitalism can have positive net effects on the total well-being of Black non-capitalists by elevating group status and group power.³⁰ In other words, Black folks gain greater self-esteem when they see other Black folks successfully operating in spaces otherwise restricted by a White power structure. In an era of Black Power and radicalism, Richard Nixon authorized Black capitalism as a way to deter Blacks from destroying private property, creating the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) in order to facilitate Black economic efforts.³¹ While the OMBE actually did very little to ameliorate Black economic empowerment, Nixon believed Black capitalism more favorable than Black nationalism as it posed virtually no threat of physical violence.³²

Theodore L. Cross argues that Black capitalism can amend Black economic stagnation.³³ Cross also argues that government and White folks will need to play a continuous role in injecting Capital and credit into urban ghettos. Ron Innis, by contrast, argues that Black folks must remain in control of their own economic development by building economic systems to hire Black people instead of relying on corporate capital alone.³⁴ Interestingly, Innis' argument gets codified in legal language with the Community Self Determination Bill of 1968.³⁵

Further, Black economists and business owners, Dunbar S. McClurin and Cyril Tyson, urge government to view Black ghettos as underdeveloped nation-states.³⁶ Disagreeing with Cross' notion that Capital and credit infusion into Black American communities will spur economic development, McClurin and Tyson argue that government needs to focus specifically on developing social structures amenable to creating Black entrepreneurs that can compete inside *and outside* of the Black community.³⁷ Still others, such as Black economist, Richard F. America Jr., argue that ten percent of Fortune 500 companies ought to be transferred to the Black community, gifting Black folks with actual, established corporations to run and feed the Black community sustainably.³⁸ While none of these proposals, including the Community Self Determination Bill, were ever approved as viable solutions, they are indicative of an intellectual tradition from which Black folks can draw inspiration and support. The reason these initiatives failed, I surmise, is due to their radical nature and separatist flavor. Even Cross' conservative approach demanded White Capitalists deploy resources and invest in Black communities directly to help Blacks make money. Cross did not

consider the racist attitudes that keep investors looking elsewhere for investment opportunities. Instead, Cross might have argued the interconnected reality of finance for the Black and White Capitalist alike and the mutual interdependence of Black and White wealth. Early race scholar, educator, and businessman Booker T. Washington makes this latter connection explicit. Washington's Black capitalism intervenes directly in markets to affect public consciousness. More precisely, Washington persuades his White audience of Black educational value by first adjusting to the deep needs of the American South. In so doing, Washington redirects resources to a Black constituency for the purposes of wealth and training.

In the current moment, contemporary scholars have dismissed Black Capitalism on the belief that economic empowerment is powerless within a White Supremacist state, particularly because Black capitalism only reinforces the value of the neoliberal subject.³⁹ After all, the term "Black capitalism" gains prominence with Richard Nixon's Cold War strategy to stifle communism in every area of activity and spread market logics throughout the world.⁴⁰ Juliet Walker argues that Black economic power cannot itself erase racialized oppression, as even Antebellum Black property owners were powerless in political representation and could still be disrespected and manipulated by White folks of any class standing.⁴¹ Weems Jr. and Randolph argue that Nixon's emphasis on Black capitalism, a fearful response to the growing Black Power movement, subverted Black radicalism and stomped out revolutionary models of Black resistance. Bernard Booms and Randolph Ward Jr., argue that Black Entrepreneurship in the 1880s was fundamentally selfish, motivated by individual profit and sought only to create a Black

employer class that could “rule over” Black employees.⁴² These scholars fail to realize the depth of capitalist and market commitments in the modern era, they assume that humans can simply choose to invent a new economic system through conscious thought alone. Rather, I suggest a pragmatic solution: Black capitalism represents an intellectual history that bears new fruit taken together with Washington’s attention to markets and audience. Here, we can begin to influence Black access to wealth by consciously intervening in markets.

I propose however, that Black capitalism is worth pursuing not for its economic potential, but for its political potential. Black businesses, by necessity, must intervene in markets, producing images, products, and ideas for a public that the public wants to see for itself. Supporting or resisting those businesses are a way to support the community of images and message we deeply wish to see and impact the rules of real community we wish to live by. Additionally, by replacing the focus of business from “Money, first” to “Value to Others, first,” we also make small, practical modifications to the modern neoliberal situation, addressing communal needs as pre-requisite for capital acquisition.

THE ORIENTATION OF MARKETS AND RACIALIZED RESISTANCE

David Harvey argues that the neoliberal apparatus has birthed a new form of governance called the *neoliberal state*.⁴³ In the neoliberal state, the state honors the real interests of private owners, corporations, and Capital over the public good. As a result, communities dependent on public investment are most troubled and financially unstable. I argue, however, that the true culprit, the public Orientation of Markets, in its ever-

evolving quest for capital accumulation and expansion, privileges those who produce and generate capital as evidenced by the actions of the corporate state. Capital is not the same substance as “value.” Workers produce surplus and tangible value, yet workers are “valuable” in so far as they function as assets for existing business, financial institutions, and governments. As scholars have made clear, the guiding rationality of neoliberalism is relatively stable in the collective psyche, and not readily amenable to change. Peter Bloom states that neoliberalism is co-opting even non-market values.⁴⁴ These non-market values reproduce neoliberalism and keep subjects under its affective rule such that the more capitalist a society becomes, the more seemingly ethical and non-capitalist its population must become to maintain the system. Such non-market values like “work-life” and “corporate social responsibility” become popular as the neoliberal state convinces the population that life balance is important because it helps the individual show up for work. For Bloom, apparent non-market values and even entrepreneurship are traps because of their ambiguity and their impossibility to achieve. It is a fantasy that offers a distinct ontological sense of security for modern subjects while producing very little actual freedom.

Like other scholars who have taken up the neoliberal question,⁴⁵ Bloom offers no *prudent* method or practically wise means to solve the problem. No doubt, however, Bloom still sells his books within markets and accepts the market terms of his academic position to secure his daily bread. Given the everyday activities of the very scholars that critique neoliberalism, arguments that merely “debunk” neoliberalism are akin to prisoners explaining how efficiently they are trapped within their concrete cells.

Scholarship can go beyond mere “debunking” of neoliberalism by providing solutions to smaller day to day problems faced by humanity: How do we eat, *today*? How do we get healthcare, *today*? How do we educate our young, *today*? How do we mobilize effective resistance, *today*? How do we begin? By providing practical pathways to recurring daily challenges, we find we are working pragmatically toward a new world every day.

Thus, rather than grant exclusive attention to the ways in which activists can directly oppose neoliberal governance, it is important to recognize the resources *within* markets useful for establishing cooperative human behavior and action, action that can contribute to neoliberalism’s own undoing. For example, decades of marching have not garnered proportionate control of resources for African Americans. Yet, a case study of Black and White entrepreneurs from 2001 to 2009 shows that Black business owners have more upward mobility and greater wealth than their working counterparts.⁴⁶ Additionally, Black entrepreneurs have lower downward mobility than their employed counterparts, and thus, are less likely to lose their economic footing once materially established.⁴⁷ Potentially, these data index the neoliberal tendency to secure material advantage for individuals in spite of racial discrimination. There is reason to suspect that successful Black business owners will maintain a special privilege moving forward, as even antebellum Blacks, prior to the Civil War and the end of slavery, were able to develop enterprises that supported Black wealth and life:

Antebellum Blacks developed enterprises in virtually every area important to the pre-Civil War business community, including merchandising, manufacturing, real estate speculation and development, the construction trades, transportation, and the extractive industries. In the development of those enterprises, which paralleled mainstream business history that discourage an entrepreneurial inquiry of antebellum Black business

activities, American business activity, the leading Black antebellum entrepreneurs accumulated property in excess of \$100,000.⁴⁸ In the face of staunch racism, Black folks developed coordinated plans and procedures to establish life and livelihood through sustainable organizations. Moreover, Black folks participated as entrepreneurs even as slaves in the South indicating that freedom established in markets supersedes the freedom inherent in ordinary human life within the scheme of American Capitalism.⁴⁹ The modern neoliberal era also reconfigures human worth as “net worth,” human workers as “assets,” and frames human life in terms of its usefulness to financial interests. The Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 and the Citizens United decision of 2010 are confirmations of a belief in business organizations over the needs, aims, and life directions of individual citizens.⁵⁰ We need not despair, however, for in doing so, the state creates a covert and unexpected pathway to greater social organizations and minority equity in the least expected way: businesses. For all the harm the pursuit of market domination has caused, they also offer an opportunity for remaking public ontology. Demanding efficiency to reduce capital expenditure, businesses in the neoliberal era demand efficiency and tailored coordination. Yet, the kind of businesses that can exist are dependent on public interest. For Black folks then, there is opportunity to make use of neoliberalism’s illicit configuration of freedom and establish greater access to group resources: create organizations better suited to communal needs.

There is little to expect from the corporate state for the African American worker. In the United States, Black folks have been positioned away from Capital via exclusion from jobs, housing, and education and business loans.⁵¹ This trend only exacerbates

under neoliberal governance, post-1970s. In the neoliberal era, Americans, especially Black folks see:

reductions in tax rates for corporations and the wealthy, a shrunken public infrastructure and social safety net, the collapse of job security—between 1984 and 2004 at least 30 million fulltime workers were laid off a dramatic decline in the number of good jobs—those that pay US \$17 an hour and include employer-paid health care and retirement benefits a marked upward redistribution of wealth and a polarization of “haves” and “have nots,” and the rise of what Naomi Klein calls “hollow government,” where dwindling resources has led to outsourcing government functions, such as education, disaster response, even fighting wars, to become for-profit ventures.⁵²

Here, we see the tendency of the State to withdraw support away from workers and toward corporations. The already precarious and insecure Black worker is doubly affected by neoliberal changes in the economy. Black workers are fired first, especially in economic downturns. So much so, that seemingly positive changes in the White-Black employment gap have less to do with increases in Black hiring rates and more to do with reductions in Black job loss rates. Indeed, Black unemployment rates are consistently twice that of Whites.⁵³ The neoliberal age is constraining on Black employees and provides no safety net for the economic opportunity of Black workers. However, the opportunity to create coordinated and financially independent, sustainable organizations, organizations already privileged by the state, must not go untreated in the academic literature.

When Black folks forgo their capacity to affect markets through businesses and favor protest instead, they are at the unavoidable mercy of White decisions in the backrooms of department managers and co-workers.⁵⁴ I make no claims that markets “solve it all every time.” However, Washington reminds us that Black capitalism is not an

end solution, but a means to an end. That is, intervening in markets, always a rhetorical act, alone solves very little, but the residual effects of shifting public opinion because of new images, service providers, and products or the dissolution of old ones are a very real power bound with the monetary symbol, market exposure, and rhetoric.

The Rhetorical Features of Capital and the Economy

Markets, the very context of commercial value exchange within an economy, are rhetorical features of the economy that are subject to resistance and intervention. When consumers and producers are persuaded to purchase, create, or destroy products, solutions, and ideas, they demonstrate the availability of rhetoric as a means of intervention and decision-making in practical financial situations. When people look to buy or produce something, they operate in relation to the communicating world in which they live. Further, market decisions are constitutive of new political realities and public consciousness. Consider how markets are rhetorically malleable through the frames of credit and debt. In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison rhetorically constructed two separate conceptions of debt and credit, and thus, two separate solutions for the nation's "debt-problem":

The former comprises a set of strategies that positions the obligation of debt as a resource for enhancing economic opportunity. The latter instead emphasizes the obligation as a burden compromising a relationship, which can be restored only when removed."⁵⁵

Hamilton defined debt as a contractual obligation for establishing and maintaining the nominal value of debt certificates. For, "No one would be likely to purchase a debt certificate if he didn't feel confident that it would maintain its value in the future."⁵⁶

Notice that Hamilton is attempting to safeguard the debt certificate *market*, for without the safety of this market, private fiscal power would go untapped in relieving the nation of its debt. Hamilton understands that people are speaking differently about the role of credit, foreign debts, and national economic instability. In order to hedge against public uncertainty regarding American economic well-being, Hamilton intervenes with a rhetoric of credit that seeks to provide confidence in the ethical exchange of debt. As Herring writes:

An inattention to Hamilton's rhetoric of credit has led scholars to overlook his recognition that debt is a phenomenon as rhetorical as it is financial. Its existence depends upon the efforts of borrowers to persuade lenders of their credibility.⁵⁷

This rhetorical legacy of proving credit worthiness continues today in public consciousness, triumphing over Madison's rhetoric of debt, which asserted that debt was a relationship best resolved through immediate repayment. While Hamilton's rhetoric of creditworthiness, the insistence that debt ought to be funded and maintained by the state, created a legacy of mountainous American debt that manifested in the debt ceiling crisis of 2011-2013,⁵⁸ it is important to note that economic rhetorics can and do compete, often with devastating impacts to global citizens. This insight is valuable as it demonstrates that economic rhetorics are competitive and *differently adjusted* to the wants, needs, perceptions, and levels of awareness of individuals and society. Actors can make use of this malleability and prescribe economic rhetorics tailored to the deep wants and wishes of society.

Consider the work of Jessica Kuperavage, who argues that "legitimate" markets are constructed by rhetorical argument.⁵⁹ When Margaret and Mary Leitch petitioned

President McKinley in early twentieth century America to intervene in the opium trade in China, they asserted that authorized markets ought to be morally amiable to all parties within trade. This small rhetorical intervention in the opium market became the cornerstone of modern anti-drug policy, the same drug policy later used to vilify Black folks and drive mass incarceration in the 1980s. Additionally, this rhetorical move fulfilled one of the goals of the Philippine conquest, improved trade relations with China and repositioned America as a pro-democratic and anti-imperialist state.⁶⁰ Thus, rhetorical interventions in markets are a way to consolidate additional trade, financial power, and political leverage under the guise of foreign aid, simultaneously authorizing what people can buy, sell, see, and hold in their hands.

The pursuit of markets also facilitates changes in ideology. Market ideologies are as essential to modern labor markets and the global financial system as physical human bodies. There is no clearer example of modern market ideology than the guiding market logic of neoliberal governance. Consider the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act (EESA) of 2008 where the United States government provided \$700 billion dollars to endangered Wall Street organizations to stabilize the American financial market and American economy. George W. Bush established a public precedent for bailing out financial markets as the primary solution for the people. Bush authorized this transaction and made sure to tell the American public that while the EESA was a response to wrongdoers on Wall Street, such actions were legitimate in preserving the American economy.⁶¹

The deeply settled logic of markets over individuals, evident in the 2008 American bailouts, is powerful; it is a contested but dominant logic in contemporary society. Instead of merely documenting neoliberal suffering, it is possible to forgo the myriad attempts to idealize a new world that “resists” markets. Rather, I propose we understand the basic habits inculcated in Western civilization for the past 500 years and harness the readily available resources within free-market capitalism to take collective action. As Washington makes clear, we *can* take pragmatic action toward the vision of the world we wish to see today. I now turn to address American pragmatism as guiding epistemic framework for addressing the neoliberal quagmire and refiguring resources of capital for public benefit.

THE PRAGMATIST INTERVENTION: A PHRONETIC RESPONSE

I propose pragmatism as a guiding epistemology to intervene in the ongoing conversation of neoliberal criticism. Specifically, I draw upon the scholarship of Kenneth Burke, John Dewey, and William James to link together a common vision of *phronesis*, or practical wisdom. I propose a model whereby practical wisdom is both a characteristic of the individual and the public. Here, language motivates the kind of expectations and purposes we carry, individual and otherwise, and the subsequent ways we react to and within situations.⁶²

Rhetorical criticism inflected with Dewey’s attitudes toward democracy and selfhood suggests that rhetorical choices create and recreate a self:

The self is formed, Dewey argues, by the choices it makes and by the experiences that flow from them. The very act of choosing forms character

because, as a mode of conduct, it reinforces certain habits of mind at the expense of others...Choice also forms the self by determining the nature of the experience to which it will be led by its own acts.⁶³

This is significant. Using Dewey's theoretical architecture regarding the demos,

Christopher Johnstone argues that any attempt to remake the world according to new or old values will also remake ourselves. In other words, if public messages shape our values and our discernment in judging right choices, then public messages also shape our habits and our selfhood. Most prominently, the very act of making rhetorical choices transforms our self as rhetorical choices and instantiates new communicative habits and new ways of thinking and relating to one's self and others. We do not work in isolation, however, for, "The moral self...is responsive to others' interests because they are bound up with one's own."⁶⁴ In other words, in remaking one's self, we remake society. I propose to extend this argument: Rhetorical choices within markets not only form selves, but collective selves, organizations, and businesses. Thus, the attempts we make to build value for others, to solve for the needs of community within markets not only remake the neoliberal self but also remake the neoliberal business apparatus and replace the neoliberal battle cry of "make money, first" with "provide value, first."

Pragmatic rhetoric becomes a way to generate practical wisdom according to Johnstone. We do not passively accept the neoliberal state, but we act practically by focusing on immediate experience and the basic needs of those around us. We may exchange money for products and services, but we do so as rhetorical value builders, persons or organizations deeply adjusted to the needs of the other, not simply the needs of capital. In a Deweyan sense, not only do our rhetorical practices form a self, a business

and a community, but they also form the rules by which that self, business, and community operate. These rules constitute *phronesis*, or practical wisdom.

My position is not without its critics, however. For example, Ronald Greene argues that humanity currently generates unsuitable rhetorical judgments in the era of postmodern capitalism and neoliberal economics. Rather than view democracy and society as a general process of aesthetic development, Greene argues that no focus on artful rhetorical criticism can account for the oppressive exclusion inherent in any society. For Greene, neither Dewey nor Johnstone have anything to say about communication as an instrument of social control. Indeed, as labor shifts to more intellectual and communicative modes, the process of communication may be too far corrupted for appropriate contributions to the democratic process: “The new forms of Capitalism, inspired by bio-political production, use communication as the wedge to create a global ‘control society.’”⁶⁵

While Greene’s argument is compelling, it misses the fact that capitalism and neoliberalism themselves are communicative processes. Economies are not separate from communication, out there in the “real world.” Economies are constitutive of habits of thinking, doing, believing, seeing, communicating, and rhetorically judging present circumstances. In other words, if one wants to adjust capitalism to the true needs of society, one must begin to think pragmatically about what those societal needs are, what people acknowledge they want, the terms that currently define those needs, and the “cash-value” of such terms. In the end, a rhetorical orientation toward pragmatism gives us more tools to work with, not fewer. This view requires a definition of *phronesis* that

focuses on praxis. As such, my dissertation proceeds with the view that the “study of rhetoric can be divorced from practice only at a great cost to both.”⁶⁶ In other words, rhetorical theory is best used to envision the optimum uses of rhetorical practice.

Phronesis, or practical wisdom, as a rhetorical concept becomes important here.

Aristotle’s *phronesis* links practice with moral judgment and is designed to instruct action.⁶⁷ For Aristotle, rhetoric is no mere spectator sport, but is meant to end in action on behalf of particular stance.⁶⁸ As Lois Self writes regarding Aristotle, practical wisdom does not merely concern itself with the physical health of the public, but with the total architecture responsible for the good living.⁶⁹ In this formulation, *phronesis* creates a vision of rhetoric that is both artistic and purposeful.

Thomas Farrell’s work on norms of rhetorical culture aligns with Self’s vision of *phronesis* and rhetoric. For Farrell, norms of rhetorical culture must be worked with and within if rhetors are to make meaningful, practical difference in society. Further, each person is indirectly participating in the invention or prevention of a rhetorical culture. It is not enough simply to know what an “abstract good state” might be,⁷⁰ it is more important to know the public good our fellow citizens wish to see *and engage these convictions directly*. Indeed, the rhetorical application of *phronesis* is only possible through the participation of a rhetorical audience.”⁷¹ In other words, we can only come to an understanding of a practical good by concerning ourselves with the contingent needs of communities. I make use of this argument and suggests that our buying habits and our participation in markets are direct contributors to our rhetorical culture. That is, the kinds of ideas, products, and rhetorical messaging to which we are incessantly exposed are

directly birthed from marketplaces. I argue that the assumed needs of the public are being addressed, if poorly, through the modern architecture of business and industry. Here, contingent public needs are audited, assessed, and “solved for” by markets. Thus, market interventions in the neoliberal era are doubly phronetic. First, our ability to intervene in markets influences not only rhetorical culture, but secondly, addresses the everyday needs of overlooked or underserved audiences in the here and now.

Unfortunately, as Christine Oravec makes clear, *phronesis* is only spoken about “within the literary efforts of the scholars and philosophers, not the actions of audiences responding to the speakers and leaders of our age.”⁷² Oravec tracks the changes in prudence from a characteristic of the individual to a characteristic of the masses. Robert Hariman furthers this audience centered focus on prudence and *phronesis*, arguing that fusing prudence with the individual leads to “misunderstanding specific crises of leadership.”⁷³ I maintain that *phronesis* is both individual *and* audience centered. One’s public judgements are practically wise when they align with the *perceived* desired ends of the audience they are addressing. Our goal is to speak exclusively to the known desires of our audience to solve for common needs, intervene directly in markets, and modify rhetorical culture. In so doing, we create opportunity for instantiating new mass marketing messaging, ethically modifying what gets spoken about, to whom and for what purposes. In short, we assist or resist in the modern political and economic scheme by speaking to that which our audience finds most valuable. We can intervene rhetorically in the modern neoliberal apparatus by attending to the central hubs of public consciousness: markets. Washington exemplifies the rhetorical value builder, the possibility of resisting

regimes of power through markets. I turn now to describe Washington as rhetorical value builder.

Washington as Rhetorical Value Builder Exemplar

As rhetorical value builder, Washington's life and autobiographic material illustrate the limitations of resisting the state exclusively in non-monetary and non-market terms. Instead, Washington rhetorically intervenes in the Southern imagination surrounding Black folks by constructing a professional Black education market, adjusting his Tuskegee Institute to the deep needs of his White audience in order to secure resources for his Black audience. Where Black education in the South was deemed of very little value by Southern Whites, Washington introduced Black industrial training as a basic communal good *for* White folks, allowing for the procurement of White funding to an all-Black institution. In doing so, Washington resisted the racialized logics of the South, transforming public consciousness regarding the merit of Black education, financial equity, and opportunity all while securing recurring White dollars for Black students.

While Washington lived prior to the era we call "neoliberal," the state of valuing dollars over human life was as present in his time as it is in ours. Indeed, I ascribe the habits of commodifying people as assets based on a 1,500-year government Orientation of Markets in which the basic habits of doing and seeing recapitulate people as items bent for the purpose of capital. Washington, born into slavery and captive *as* capital, faced a more immediate domineering state apparatus that controlled every area of activity in his

young life. If neoliberalism is the “free-market’s” way of controlling all areas of activity to generate capital, no figure in American history is more homologous to the modern neoliberal subject than the American African placed into slavery. Still, Washington as a free man, neither slave nor neoliberal subject is called to act against overwhelming odds in a time when dollars constituted political power. I argue that, rather than originating in the 1970s neoliberal era, capital has been prepared as a God-term since thirteenth century European feudalism.⁷⁴ Then as now, the monetary motive, the ability for humans to be motivated by monetary symbols above all others, reigned supreme. For this reason, Washington, like the actors of today, was called to deal with the officious impact and authority of capital over African American lives. Washington’s rhetorical legacy demonstrates that the way to create opportunity for others in a society dominated by the pursuit of profit is to intervene directly in the privileged space of markets. To do this, we must build value specific to the auditor we are addressing. Whatever the auditor deeply wants becomes the ground for persuasion and for separating the subject away from their “divine possession,” their dollars. By creating common value, we link the needs of political, business and social actors with one another while solving for the practical needs of communities in the here and now. I turn now to explicate the rhetorical link between Washington and the symbolic motive of money and markets.

Washington, Burke and the Monetary Motive

Booker T. Washington, as rhetorical value builder, presents a model of Black economic resistance as a resource for invention and intervention in markets. In this

section, I propose how we can understand Washington's thought using the following Burkean concept: the monetary motive. For this effort, I rely on Washington's written piece, "Fruits of Industrial Training," originally published in the liberal literature magazine, "The Atlantic."⁷⁵ In it, Washington describes racial hostility and the role of industrial education in the American South. Washington writes of how to address racial animosity and racialized struggle, proposing an economic plan that gives Black people access to industrial training, a skill set that enables Black entrepreneurship, direct activity in markets. Where entrepreneurship serves as an economic boon to the Southern states, Whites, according to Washington, will also benefit from the productive labor and liberation of Black people.

By relying on the deeply entrenched state Orientation of Markets and the often-hidden symbolic force of money, Washington adjusts himself to his White audience and secures a place for Black economic empowerment in the early twentieth century American setting. Monetary symbolism is a public and private means for mediating motives.⁷⁶ In the modern setting, then, we act and define situations based on terms of capital. The monetary motive stands in symbolic substitute for God where questions of should or should not are answered with the divine enthymeme: what would capital wish for me to do? In the monetary motive, for Burke, money is a short hand term for power and control. Money creates an "indirectness" that allows a "great number of people to avoid many harsher realities. For one need simply pay to have 'insensitive' things done by others instead of doing them oneself."⁷⁷ Money is more efficient than religion or God as a public ultimate term because of its unifying ability to transcend demographic, class,

climate, and culture as meaningful grounds for action. Here, Protestantism trades in its alms-receiving monks for money-donating congregations. In so doing, “God” communication is relegated to one’s private bedroom at night instead of the church: “Protestantism, arising in response to the growing of occupational diversity, trade, and the necessarily increased dependence upon the use of money, stressed on the contrary the function of the godhead as a *private* principle.”⁷⁸ Like Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s conception of the transfer of power in ideology from God to King to CEO,⁷⁹ Burke writes that in matters concerning the public, money is a primary motive that encompasses the situation of a hostile world. More precisely, money is a motive birthed from occupational diversification a change in “tactics of grammar,” where humans are reconfigured as agents in a hostile scene.

Burke is in solidarity with Wendy Brown in stating that money is a logic, a “rationalizing ground of action.” More specifically, the logic of the monetary motive produces a special psychosis called the “Capitalist psychosis.” The social structure, for Burke, of capitalism produces specific habits of thinking, acting and being that correspond with the activities of capitalism. If we take Burke seriously, this means that a capitalist-democracy is somatically different from a socialist-democracy, and that the features and logics of capital will filter in *any and every* political experience that *can* take place within American society. Burke advises us to pay attention to overstressing and under stressing when operating within a capitalist psychosis. We are to acknowledge what sets of actions generate the most social advantage and which sets of actions are the most politically expedient. Within a capitalist psychosis, Burke predicts that “freedom”

will come to mean “free market freedom” since freedom is defined in monetary terms. By extension, those folks who believe they are most capable of managing capital and freedom will become society’s rulers. Further, wherever similar systems of capital flow, there will be similar logics that impact or corrupt possibilities for democracy. Such is the consequence of the monetary motive and its capitalist psychosis.⁸⁰

In the capitalist psychosis, money comes to stand in, synecdochally, for the Judeo-Christian religion. From early Calvinism, which gave us the modern term for “credit” and, subsequently, “indebtedness,” debt is configured as a euphemism for sin.⁸¹ Debt becomes a normalized component of capitalism and a critical part of capitalism’s ability to operate just as sin is a critical part of the Judeo-Christian mission. Burke takes us a step further however, and argues that those who control money and debt, like government (or multinational corporations), and who can extend the ability to absolve debt and the ability to issue punishment for one’s debts are divine rulers and metonym for the Christ-figure, for no one can redeem or punish for sin like “God”:

For instance, the nature of nationalist integers...makes it readily possible for men to carry out projects that privately enrich themselves while publicly adding to the national debt, as when a ‘national’s interests abroad are protected by government agencies supported by a tax upon the people as a whole. We here have simultaneously an apposition of individual and collectivity on the ‘spiritual’ level and an opposition on the practical level. When ‘we’ get air bases, who is this ‘we?’⁸²

While Burke is suggesting the modern configuration of government as God-head, the grammar set up by the terms of the monetary motive more precisely configure *businesses* as God-head. Profitable businesses cannot, by definition, carry more debt than profit. Given these terms, the profitable business is also capable of leading individuals from the debt-sin equation and into the “freedom” granted by “divine-markets.” If the monetary

motive not only describes money as motivation but also legitimates individuals for authority positions, then profitable business leaders are indeed “prophets,” legitimized for leadership by their great “works.” When money stands in for God, divinity, moral worth and leadership positions flow to the ones who know how to control the divine power of the dollar. More importantly, companies enshrine founders in collective memory. We still assign the smartphone to Steve Jobs and Apple, telephones to the Bell Company and electricity to Thomas Edison. In other words, continuous capital growth becomes *the* way to “immortality.”⁸³

Burke is aware of the aversion to speaking about money predominant in the American cultural heritage. Indeed, even modern Marxists use cell phones, hold jobs, and participate as much as capitalists in markets. The aversion to speak of money and markets as possibilities for empowerment restricts our ability to *think* of and recognize the money motive, an essential driver of human action. Burke says “our very aversion to ‘talking about money matters’ has done much to conceal our understanding of it as a motive,” and continues, “though it is worth noting that this aversion in itself indicates the ‘godhead’ of money, since in formal religions men fear to behold or name lightly their God, or motivational center.”⁸⁴ With the Orientation of Markets, the definition and terms of “value” are differently defined. As Burke notes, a story about a hurricane that causes millions of dollars in destruction is often made analogous to the story of similar “damage in the stock market.”

The symbolic and emotional losses represented by a diminishing stock market has tangible consequences for real people. People really do lose their life savings, their

retirement funds, their homes, their emergency capital, their children's college funds, and more in the devastation of a Great Depression, but only because of the terms used to define "capital." However, the actual resources of planet earth remain the same. No physical resource is diluted simply because stock prices fall. Yet, the symbolic devastation is as if a hurricane had swept away savings and homes. Herein lies the central issue: Wealth is an agreed upon set of terms generated by markets. While Burke seeks to push us to a reality where we consider wealth in terms of actual items, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that damaged homes, vehicles and hospitals are also no "real" problem, provided people can relocate to new homes, vehicles and hospitals. This usually is not the case. In this world of taken-for-granted monetary symbols, Capital is as valuable as any human life because it "stands in" synecdochally for many human lives and many human communities.

This is the reason that the Emergency Economic Stability Act (EESA) was created to bail out Wall Street stewards of capital rather than the physical, actual homes of actual citizens. The subtle point becomes clear here: The people who lost their homes in the financial downturn of 2008 *never actually owned their own homes in the first place. Government*, leveraging commercial banks, owns the housing market, including the homes of most consumers. Buyers do not purchase homes outright, they purchase them through mortgages made possible by a set of terms based around credit, debt, and capital: based around market agreements. Moreover, even when buyers purchase their homes outright, paid in full, they are still indebted to the state to pay property tax. Unpaid property taxes mean delinquency and the eventual forfeiture of a person's home to the

government. Going further, even if a person has purchased a home outright and paid their property taxes, their home can still be seized under eminent domain laws by government and redistributed as “deemed fit for the public.”⁸⁵ In other words, the EESA was an attempt to maintain global economic equilibrium and prevent the financial meltdown of the State via commercial banks. The EESA was designed to bail out the *actual* owners of the homes and real estate in 2008: Government and private corporations.

In a symbolic game of monetary jujitsu, the true property owners are the corporate state and the private corporations the state chooses to puppeteer. The Orientation of Markets, the emphasis on value codified in monetary terms is the reason for this. While no actual physical resources were removed from the physical planet of earth in the Great Depression or the Great Recession, tremendous amounts of monies were lost and plenty of people were displaced from their typical activity and living situations, often for the worse. Such is the consequence to a public under the trance of the monetary motive. In short, then, money is “Godhead.” Capital decides who gets to be owner and owned within markets in accordance with the socially agreed upon set of terms with which monetary value is constituted.

Like Burke, Washington is keenly aware of the monetary motive. Washington writes and speaks in favor of generating capital by intervening in markets to yoke the deeply felt needs of the White South with the deeply felt problems of the Black South. Washington notes the political divide between White and Black folks. For Washington, Black folks often find themselves political fuel for campaigns even though they do not reside in the districts of governance currently up for election. What is behind such a

phenomenon? Washington answers: Failure to establish common value between the races or ability to serve mutually beneficial interests within markets. Or, “to make plain that in all political matters, there was for years after the war no meeting grounds of agreement for the two races.” This inconvenience is made right, according to Washington, by the monetary motive. In the era following the industrial revolution, the largest opportunities for businesses were in the agriculture, transportation, railways and factories. Washington argued that education in industrial training will provide Black folks with a way to build economic solidarity in business with Whites.

Furthermore, industrial education appealed directly to the individual and community interest of the White people. They saw at once that intelligence coupled with skill would add wealth to the community and to the state, in which both races would have an added share...Practically every White man in the South was interested in agricultural or in mechanical or in some form of manual labor; every White man was interested in all that related to the home life, — the cooking and serving of food, laundering, dairying, poultry-raising and housekeeping in general. There was no family whose interest in intelligent and skillful nursing was not now and then quickened by the presence of a trained nurse. As already stated, there was a general appreciation of the fact that industrial education of the Black people direct, vital and practical bearing upon the life of each White family in the South; while there was no such appreciation of the results of mere literary training. If a Black man became a lawyer, a doctor, a minister, or an ordinary teacher, his professional duties would not ordinarily bring him in touch with the life of the White portion of the community, but rather confine him almost exclusively to his own race.⁸⁶

This is how Washington rhetorically builds value among his White consumer auditor. Washington’s position suggests that there are White people “already benefitting” from the knowledge of Black youths at his Tuskegee Institute. Moreover, Washington explains that White publishers are “already seeking,” as a source of authority, Tuskegee scholarship to boost productivity and generate value, a core attitude within the monetary motive.

Even as Washington convinces his audience of the value and significance of Black scholarship in and through the Burkean monetary motive, Washington achieves a second goal: He legitimizes the Tuskegee Institute as a place suitable for White and Black public donations, thereby intervening in the educational market for the benefit of Black folks. Washington makes a public proclamation that Tuskegee is uniquely positioned for alleviating the financial woes of an economically depressed American South. After all, White farmers are making practical use of the research of Tuskegee faculty to help protect their crops and businesses.

Given the monetary motive that positions businesses and governments as “godheads,” precisely because of their control of Capital, Washington’s Tuskegee Institute is an economic version of the “holy spirit,” providing an opportunity to resurrect the bold South, following its Civil War crucifixion, by injecting the southern economy with monetary life-force. Washington continues, linking private interests with the public’s welfare by suggesting that business will bring factory work to the masses. In route, Washington places Tuskegee Institute at the center of this economic stimulation.

By focusing on his audience, first, Washington tacitly offers Black business and entrepreneurship as a Burkean counter-statement to White Supremacy and racial inequity. In the end, rather than impose a failed program of political protest, Washington’s “Fruits of Industrial Training” exploits deeply hidden monetary motives, enters into the conversation White folks are already having about economics and the “race problem,” exploits his White audience’s capitalist orientation, and creates meaningful opportunity to affect public consciousness by intervening in the educational market. Such an audience-

centered approach that considers the needs of Black and White folks, alike, is fertile ground for rhetorical invention and intervention. Here, Washington elicits a form of persuasion used frequently in converting regular, unbeknownst citizens into believers and “supporters” of his Tuskegee Institute “product,” leveraging the Orientation of Markets to persuade its most ardent advocates: the people.

Perhaps it is possible that Washington’s audience-centered approach helps us avoid the pitfalls of traditional corrupt capitalism by retargeting attention away from “how to get money” to “how to produce value for others.” Washington’s audience-centered approach is pragmatic and phronetic, it begins with the immediate needs of the community and then acquires Capital to coordinate action into sustainable form, thereby adjusting the material needs of community to democratic ones. By focusing on the capitalist psychosis of his audience, Washington offers a model of persuasive economics to accumulate resources and serve communal needs. Most profoundly, Washington shows that it is possible to exorcise out of the demon of capitalism, an angel of invention. The Black entrepreneur is a part of capitalism but has transformative capabilities in the inherent ability to trouble “who gets and receives wealth and resources” by breaking and piously remaking the terms which typically go with “Black.” Rather than think of the Black as that which goes with poverty and criminality, Washington links, for his audience, “Black” as that which “goes with” value and national wealth.

My argument, upon initial glance, may sound like a neoliberal formulation of Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” of the market: Where the Capitalist “intends only his own gain but is ‘led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his

intention.”⁸⁷ This is incorrect. For, Smith suggests that humans pursue self-interest and that the public, represented in and by the marketplace, will be satisfied inevitably as a result. I argue, however, that self-interest and other-interest ought to be brought into alignment. Here, we no longer ask our children, “What do you want to be when you grow up?” Instead we ask, “Who are you going to help *today*?” We define our private motivations by that which is valuable to the community in which we live.

The problem with monetary motives and market participation is not *that* we use them, but *how* we use and understand them. If we are to facilitate changes in public consciousness and craft campaigns that actualize change for the common good- honoring Dewey’s conception of the spirit of democracy—we must continuously adjust ourselves to the perceived needs of the consumer auditor. The consumer auditor, ultimately, grant businesses divinity by offering their dollars. Conscious market persuasion and intervention is the gateway to securing capital and moving beyond criticism that only engages in “debunking,”⁸⁸ so we may instead enact a “politics of becoming” based on careful listening and presumptive generosity.⁸⁹ This paradigm means learning and applying rhetorical theory to understanding the architecture of capital and its changing features and policies, even as we work to discipline it for the collective benefit. Booker T. Washington offers rhetoricians a pragmatic attempt at resistance.

OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter 1, I articulate the European origination of the Orientation of Markets to set the ontological and epistemological stage for understanding contemporary markets

logics. Market logics are deeply woven commitments within the global stage and are set to rule the contemporary scene because of the modern conflation of sovereignty with capital. Chapter 1 articulates how European modernity is inextricably linked with capitalism and White supremacy. Based on a reading of Cedric Robinson, I argue that the very existence of capitalism and the modern monetary symbol are responses to medieval European feudalism.⁹⁰ I then trace how the birth of modern governments are the births of the first corporations. In other words, the new essence of sovereignty is capital. Next, I define the terms for the monetary symbol, the reasons they encapsulate ideological, emotional, social and political commitments. Finally, I propose the question handled in Chapter 2: If modern governments are corporations, what does this mean for Black folks who petition the state exclusively in non-monetary and non-market terms?

In Chapter 2, I articulate the neoliberal era and the often-spoken conflict of *TINA*: “there is no alternative.”⁹¹ I will highlight the solutions proposed by rhetorical neoliberal critics and outline their uses and limitations. Additionally, I identify the reason that Black direct-action activism independent of market and monetary intervention is needed but limited in their capacity to change public consciousness. Simply put, marches and demonstrations are efficient at raising awareness around an issue, but they are much less effective at altering long term public action, decisions, and lifeways. Markets, however, are a major variable in public action and lifeways. As such, they who impact markets and the flow of market monetary symbols (dollars), modify the habits, life directions, and life decisions of the public. To demonstrate how market action impacts racialized consciousness, I will create a genealogy of rhetorical interventions in slave markets that

built and supported definitions of Black folks that continue today. Drawing upon original advertising sources for marketing African peoples like an advertisement from *N.B. Forest Dealer in Slaves*, I will showcase how the very marketing efforts of slave sellers facilitates a public understanding of ownership and servitude that continues into the modern day.⁹² I will then propose the pragmatic rhetorical figure, the rhetorical value builder as symbolic solution to the seemingly inescapable trap of neoliberal economics. What if, in 2008, every American home owner decided they would not pay their mortgages in solidarity with their fellow citizens who lost housing due to Wall Street greed? The leverage is with the consumer auditor who says: “Government, if you do not bail out your citizens before your banks, we will make this problem worse by refusing payment of our mortgages?” We consciously intervene in markets by adjusting ourselves to the needs of our audience, our consumer auditor. Drawing from the pragmatist tradition of phronesis in rhetoric, I will argue that the way to undo what scholars refer to as neoliberalism is to align the Orientation of Markets—inherent in market participation—and the material needs of the self with the perceived concerns of one’s community. In doing so, we not only solve for the short-term needs of others in the here and now, we also replace the end goal of “capital gained *from* others” with “value granted *to* others.”

Given the explicit link between capital, White supremacy, and modern government, Chapter 3 centers race as a salient site for understanding modern resistance through economics. Here, I suggest and propose the specific ways in which Washington addresses his audience in order to build a multi-million-dollar institution for Black folks

in an otherwise hostile South. In so doing, I illustrate the rhetorical features of the economy that are malleable and sensitive to resistance, and the subsequent alterations in public consciousness that result from new introductions of products and services to the public, most notably, the racialized changes in consciousness that result from monetized and marketed interventions in public education. Specifically, I rely on Washington's direct speeches and writings such as the "Fruits of Industrial Training," *The Negro In Business*, "The Atlanta Exposition," *Industrial Education of the Negro*, and Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, to trace the rhetor's capacity to conspicuously sell the idea of Black liberation to White folks, repurposing White dollars for the deliverance of Black education in a racially aggressive South.⁹³ Further, I address Washington's rhetorical critics and explicate the way in which Washington's rhetorical legacy has been mired and misunderstood, precluding the adequate confiscation of his economic rhetoric for appropriate use in the current moment. I cross examine rhetorical critiques of Washington's rhetoric, including the work of Bradford Vivian, Scott Varda, W.E.B. Dubois, Donald Spivey, Adolf Reed, Jr., Julianne Mallveaux, and Kevin Verney's analysis of Washington as "Uncle Tom" in order to understand how overlooking the Orientation of Markets has led to the academic mishandling of Washington's rhetorical value builder argument, the myriad opportunities for redress, and how Washington makes possible a new, phronetic model of resistance in the contemporary era.⁹⁴

In Chapter 4, I articulate the way in which Washington's writings, particularly *The Negro in Business*, adjust his White audiences to the needs of Black folks, fostering the necessary conditions for the funding of Tuskegee Institute. Using the work of Burke

and Michael Calvin McGee,⁹⁵ I argue that Washington adjusts his message to his White consumer auditor because he understands and communicates their own perception of value to them. In other words, Washington enters the conversation his audience is already having with itself about freedom, race, the southern economy and their own future. This value-centered approach to persuading audiences sensitizes Washington's audience to his message of Black equity, education, and training all without a single protest march.

I conclude by articulating how Washington's rhetorical value builder offers a way of resisting while participating in markets. I argue that, by working within the norms of the rhetorical culture, Washington as rhetorical value builder remakes the neoliberal subject by aligning the self-interested neoliberal subject with the other and changing the terms of capital acquisition to equate with "service." I dismiss the notion that neoliberalism can be "thought" away, that there will be an intellectual movement that solves the world's problems. Rather, I suggest that global movements will be actualized based on the perceived wants, needs, and wishes of people and the appropriate subsequent interventions in markets. Thus, the way in which we rhetorically value-build will determine the future directions of humanity, economic and otherwise. By detailing the way in which the Orientation of Markets has made and remakes the world, I show how markets are always already constructing our reality. I argue that market actions are inevitable as long as humanity is tied to the monetary symbol and therefore, I suggest that the kind of world humans make and the kind of politics that dominate is influenced by the kind of market actions humans accept, resist and participate in. In addition, I build out Washington's argument to include modern forms of resistance encapsulated in the

new digital economy. I show contemporary forms of resistance, intentional or unintentional, that reallocate resources to the marginalized in a sustainable way by adjusting to the needs of audience. The work of Dr. Boyce Watkins and Jay Morrison are examples of businesses that build digital and physical communities that prudently serve a Black communal good *and* work within the capitalistic norms of the rhetorical culture.

Together, these chapters demonstrate how markets foster public consciousness and how Washington's attention to audience articulates an underestimated form of resistance and empowerment moves us into a solution-oriented configuration of neoliberalism. By focusing on a basic public Orientation of Markets, I better assess the gravitas of the modern rhetorical situation for freedom fighters and empowerment activists and reframe the neoliberal conversation away from the "there is no alternative" landscape and toward the construction of organizations that serve the needs of the community we seek to empower. When we pragmatically and prudently intervene in markets, supplying new ideas, images, products, services, games *or* by boycotting the ideas, images, products, services, and games for the marginalized auditor, we instantiate new habits of seeing and being and audit the rules by which we communally live. In other words, we modify what the public can see and envision. In this way, we fulfill a Deweyan pragmatic strategy to make small changes in public messaging, including market messaging, and gradually change the public's conception of self and society. For the capitalists, by placing "value" over "capital" as the very means to wealth, we may open the opportunity to reconceive the neoliberal model of "human" as more than an

asset. Instead, we may come to realize that humans are always members of an audience with real needs and challenges to meliorate in and out of markets.

Finally, this dissertation offers rhetorical scholars a phronetic model of persuasion that first focuses on “consumer needs” as entre into human motivation. We ask: “What do they want? What do they buy? And what are the constituent elements undergirding those purchases?” When we consider what a “consumer” audience wants to consume—food, water, sex, entertainment, political offices, tenure track positions, executive positions, and so on, we identify a cluster of terms that we can directly and intimately address. We can adjust our own end ideals and goals to these consumer terms to create a result of mutual benefit or we can place ourselves in direct opposition to the consumer auditor’s needs, persuading our auditor to forgo their current route of action in favor of an action that is mutually beneficial. In other words, we can either create or diminish value for others through rhetorical means, opening particular forms of audience action while closing others.

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CHAPTER 1: The Orientation of Markets: Race, Capital, and the State

Markets have deeply shaped our modern world. Indeed, our very way of seeing life, communities, and government is built upon exchange and trade values. Black folks who wish to resist illegitimate or legitimate State regimes or who wish for greater equity of access must come to speak the truer language of civil society and modern government: capital and markets. Neoliberal critiques have done much to say how markets are constitutive of modern logics, but scholars have learned little about the ways in which finance and markets function as the very symbolic tools used in the current moment for self and other making, as the primary tool in the construction of public consciousness. Unfortunately, while most realize that public consciousness is dependent on the level of information available to the public, on the spaces and places of deliberation, on policy and policing, and on the everyday activities of citizens, few appreciate the dependence of public consciousness on financing and markets. Even fewer recognize the deep, historically ensconced market and monetary lens through which government sees and seizes. The very ontology of Blackness is built out with and within market logics. In other words, the modern state is authorized to harm Black bodies because it was first profitable to rape, kill, mutilate, and otherwise discipline Black bodies. How might we disrupt this history?

If rhetoricians are to give an answer, to guide our racialized world to a rich interpretation of symbolic interaction, to offer insight into projects of resistance, and to aid in the plight of the marginalized, then scholars ought to focus on the deep orientations of Capital and markets held by the state and its subjects. Understanding this orientation is

the first step to understanding the unique resources within twentieth century leader Booker T. Washington's rhetorical efforts surrounding Black empowerment and Black resistance, for it is into this deep groove, this deep market orientation of modern government that Washington is called to speak. This is the origin story of how markets and their logics have come to dominate our world.

The historical pathway I chart in the subsequent sections is inspired by and born out of the pragmatist rhetorical tradition. In the pragmatic rhetorical tradition, no idea, person, or thing exists as event, but is instead a process stemming from a deep historical, cultural, and symbolic trajectory. The pragmatic rhetorical tradition represents symbolic usage fluidly in experience, nature, and activity as based on Charles Darwin's philosophical orientation regarding "descent with modification."¹ Here, thoughts like habit and action "build-out" as a result of prior thought, habits, and actions, rather than maintain a static, essential, unmoving form.² In modern rhetorical studies, Burke is often understood as a pragmatist. In articulating a Deweyan pragmatist rhetoric, Scott Stroud makes explicit connection with Burke's use of orientation. Orientation, as it relates to *Permanence and Change*, concerns the way an individual is conditioned or habituated to see the world. Orientations open up possibilities for seeing the world and close down others: "Being great at math, say, could be an incapacity in noticing non-quantitative aspects of a situation. Burke glosses this concept as 'that state of affairs whereby one's very abilities can function as blindness.'"³ Burke's concept of orientation is like a Deweyan concept of mind and habit. John Dewey sees habit as a set of tendencies whereby individuals continually frame the world in particular ways, "Thus a

businessperson has certain habits of body and mind that orient her toward profit and personal gain... These defining habits of this businessperson will also orient her toward certain activities, given the relevant situation and stimuli.”⁴ By creating parallels of this nature between Dewey and Burke, Stroud has come to a pragmatic understanding of “mind.” Mind is not a substance in the head, but a culturally determined frame or orientation toward experience, influenced heavily by language and history. The role of rhetoric and language, then, is prominent, for “words that are habituated or incorporated into one’s orientation are an important part of how one reacts to situations and the communicative action therein.”⁵ Burke’s position allows us to understand that vocabularies adjust our reactions to social situations and are historically contingent. By focusing on history, Robert Dansich argues that we pragmatically re-energize our efforts to create suitable rhetorical theory appropriately fitted for the modern moment and the modern political apparatus.⁶ More specifically, an understanding of the brief historical trajectory that has led to the construction of our particular mode of public consciousness, of our orientation, helps us engage in *phronesis*, the state of practical judgement. After all, what distinguishes the pragmatic rhetorical tradition is “the refusal to privilege materialistic or idealistic intuitions as self-evidently true.”⁷ In other words, we must have data to track our claims for knowledge in instrumental, rather than exclusively liberal terms, and then repurpose that knowledge for the public good.

For this reason, the goal of this chapter is to identify, with historical analysis, the orientation of race, capital, and the state that guide our lives. In other words, the modern fixation on the Burkean monetary motive, on placing dollars and resources above human

lives is a historical making and consistently maintained by the movement and decisions of living actors. Human actors continue to carry out the set of symbolic relationships to race and capital called into being by the orientation to which their human ancestors were adjusted. If we are to fully excavate the opportunities for rhetorical redress, we must understand the historical orientation of race and capital, which I call the Orientation of Markets, that we tacitly perpetuate and perform daily. The Orientation of Markets is defined thusly: The historically rooted focus toward the pursuit of surplus and the commodification of natural resources regardless of the expense to human beings and communities. The Orientation of Markets births the capitalist psychosis, or the fixation on capital as a precondition for life.

In the pragmatic rhetorical tradition, orientations instantiate habits for seeing, doing and being. Indeed, Dewey's approach to rhetoric and habits exemplifies this notion further. Dewey believes that habits, fostered by our orientations, help us create and initiate the rules for community and experience. Our orientational habits set up the kind of problems we will have to deal with and the kinds of solutions we imagine possible. Habits of communication or orientations, then, are important precisely because they provide a structure for constructing and deconstructing *future* situations.⁸ Such a pragmatic view follows from the philosophical logic that ideas, persons, and situations evolve and are built out from prior historical processes. The Orientation of Markets is powerful not merely because it shapes what we see, but also because it shapes how we see, what we build and the way we organize and interrelate. In keeping with this view, the acts of building and running government based on banking systems, as we will come

to see, creates a new world order for the future, a future in which the construction of a new city, state revenues, trade and politics are decided on merchant terms rather than religious, monarchical or democratic terms.

According to Burke, orientation guides our interpretation of the many signs and symbols laid about our world. In line with the pragmatic rhetorical tradition, Burke writes that at the center of any given orientation, or way of looking at the world, is experience. In so doing, Burke hitches himself to the pragmatist body of knowledge whereby experience and history create the habits that foster and frame new experiences and patterns of communication.⁹ Orientation trains us to both see and not see, instills certain capacities and certain incapacities. As Burke writes, “People may be unfitted by being fit in an unfit fitness.”¹⁰ When it comes to the Orientation of Markets, the modern system of government has marketized individuals, communities, politicians and the bulk of public life, creating an all-encompassing economization of even non-economic domains.¹¹ Our contemporary orientation toward race, capital and one another has trained in us a basic incapacity for democracy and citizenship.¹² This “trained incapacity” due to our Orientation of Markets is built out trans-temporarily,¹³ specifically from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. Burke is clear:

Orientation can go wrong. Consider for instance what conquest over the environment we have attained through our powers of abstraction, of generalization; and then consider the stupid national or racial wars which have been fought precisely because these abstractions were mistaken for realities.¹⁴

Orientation, particularly those orientations geared toward the symbolic nature of money, turns dangerous when money comes not just to represent an exchange value for people-to-people trade, but comes to represent the real very value *of* people themselves. Money,

no longer an abstraction, ceases to be a tool for trade and instead becomes the end goal of trade. In such a monetary psychosis, monetary value and human value are put on equal terms, and where money can be traded for goods and services, so too can humans. The Orientation of Markets has created what Burke calls the “Capitalist Psychosis.”¹⁵ For any “tribe’s way of gaining sustenance promotes certain specific patterns of thought” and “once this psychosis is established by the authority... it is carried over into other aspects of tribal culture.”¹⁶ The psychosis of capital is no different. As I will demonstrate and as Burke demonstrates in his writing,¹⁷ when the Orientation of Markets is sufficiently pervasive, a psychosis of capital emerges whereby the economization, or the recasting of non-economic agents like peoples, communities, tribes, relationships, and democracy into monetary and market terms, dominates. In such an event, policies, law and government are not merely converted into economic terms but become the very terms by which we live and by which public life is dominated.

The monetary motive is always publicly and historically observable for the rhetorical pragmatist and for Burke.¹⁸ Burke argues that that the monetary motive, our modern alignment toward and motivation for dollars, is the “over-all *public* motive...among the endless diversity of occupational and private motives” and the “technical substitute for God.”¹⁹ However, money never exists in a vacuum. Money is traded in exchange for goods and services in *markets*. Therefore, markets are the truer substitute for God, the primary husk of public motives and the site for the transformation and influence of public consciousness. What is at the center of the public political debates that help decide our democratic leaders? Mass marketed media. Where exactly does the

public go to release their private sins? Mosque and churches—that is, real estate properties owned or rented by religious conglomerates. Where do our lives begin and where do we give birth to our children? Commercial medical facilities. Each of these public needs is executed within and around markets. Markets, then, including real properties, mass mediated messages, and advertising are directly tied to the spaces and places of our being and doing, but more importantly, they construct the world and help constitute the consciousness we are called to act with and within. For example, how exactly was the New World built and how did modern United States citizens come to know a land called America? Markets. More precisely, Christopher Columbus was sent by Spain to facilitate and capitalize on major spice markets. How did Spain operationalize their plan to dominate the spice market and establish new territories? By opening a new kind trans-continental trade: African slave markets for which the very concept of “Whiteness” was invented and imprinted on the public psyche in order to maintain.²⁰ The point of this chapter is to articulate how markets, historically and contemporarily, are the sites of dramatic transformation for public consciousness, particularly in racialized terms.

In order to understand the deep grounding of our modern capitalist orientation in the Western mind, it is important to revisit the particulars of how this orientation developed over time, beginning in the Middle Ages up through the era of globalization. Additionally, by giving the following historical development of our modern Orientation of Markets, I challenge the concept of neoliberalism itself. Neoliberalism is not now, nor has it ever been the *essential* problem. Instead, the real problem resides with a basic

capitalist psychosis that takes its shape in the beginning of the fifth century in Western Europe and that remade government through racialized, marketized, and monetary terms. Given that this research falls in the pragmatic rhetorical tradition, it is paramount that I address the basic historical trajectory of influences that cultivated our daily Orientation of Markets to classify the series of communicative evolutions that constitute our modern world.

Unlike Michael Omi and Howard Winant,²¹ I do not merely argue that race consciousness is a 500-year-old phenomenon. Instead, I concur with Cedric Robinson that race consciousness has its precursor in the Western Holy Roman Empire beginning with basic distinctions between Romans and Barbarians. Race is a central component to the modern Orientation of Markets because, as we will see, race is an essential starting point for the global capitalist history. Coupled with the salience of the *market* motive, as an extension of the monetary motive, where markets have become the “unitary ground of all action” and public principle by which all decisions are made,²² understanding the Orientation of Markets as a historical and rhetorical formation is the first step toward what Stroud calls the pragmatist notion of “meliorism,” the ability to affect actual lived experiences by acting in and out of accordance with dominant economic logics.²³

I turn now to identify the Middle Ages history wherein the modern Orientation of Markets was forged and where the modern conditions of economic and racialized oppression emerged. Understanding the historical Orientation of Markets is paramount and is the first step in this dissertation because it showcases the deeply rooted habits of the capitalist psychosis in the lives of contemporary citizens. This orientation, entrenched

within modern government, highlights the limitations of resistance strategies that lobby the State in non-market and non-monetary terms. Additionally, the Orientation of Markets forged through history, brings into focus the rhetorical situation in which Black empowerment rhetors like Booker T. Washington and modern rhetorical and neoliberal scholars are called to speak.²⁴ Using the work of Cedric Robinson, I build upon the argument that thirteenth century European practices of racism gave rise to a corporate form of government that remade nationhood, the world, and relationships in terms of capital.²⁵ As a result, capitalism and multinational corporations became mere manifestations of an original corporate government. As such, the logics of capital to this day pervade every institution, social transaction, and political agenda of prominence, including White supremacy.

RACE AND THE MERCHANT: ORIGIN OF THE ORIENTATION OF MARKETS

Robinson argues that racism is an othering of people based on perceived fundamental, deep, and genetic differences. This view of racism precedes even the modern configuration of “races” as White, Black, and Asian. We cannot understand the way in which racism facilitates the birth of capitalism until we look carefully at the period after the fall of the Western Roman Empire: the fifth through fifteenth centuries, otherwise known as the Medieval Age.²⁶ First, the Romans defined and racialized anyone outside of the Empire as “barbarians,” a distinct sub-species of indigenous Europeans unfit for the fruits of civilization. These “White barbarians” were bounded by the

Western Roman Empire and used as a major force of slave labor.²⁷ Following the fifth century decline of the Western Roman Empire, the Medieval period presented a crude existence for all of Europe, from slaves to the noble class.²⁸ Here, urban life declined, long distance trade ended, and only the belief in the formal presence of the Roman Empire remained. The new Carolingian Empire did little to offset the general state of disease the anticipated European feudalism. When Muslim conquests affected the Mediterranean, Europe's commercial, urban, and cultural vitality were jeopardized and ultimately degraded. Long distance trade market systems and urban life would not return to Europe for several hundreds of years, until the twelfth century. Commercialized cannibalism arose in this deprecated state of European life.²⁹ Within this economic chaos, dominated by religious fables and famine, came a figure as foreign to European feudalism as the barbarian was to the Roman Empire: the merchant. They specialized in long distance trade.

In a primarily agrarian society, the swift increase in feudal populations created a food shortage. In response, a certain class of people were forced into a nomadic way of life, becoming conversant in multiple languages and seeking opportunities to profit from the myriad situations presented in their travels.³⁰ Famines presented challenges that, if appropriately solved for, could yield tremendous purchasing power for the merchant:

Famines were multiplied throughout Europe, sometimes in one province and sometimes in another, by that inadequate system of communications, and increased still more opportunities, for those who knew how to make use of them, of getting rich. A few timely sacks of wheat, transported to the right spot, sufficed for the realizing of huge profits. . . . It was certainly not long before nouveaux riches made their appearance in the midst of this miserable crowd of impoverished, bare-foot wanderers in the world.³¹

In the beginning, the merchants' way of life depended on their ability to be of practical use to their European neighbors facing famine. Their primary asset was their mobility. Naturally, many traveled together for safety and company against thieves and vandals, creating the possibility for organized systems of communication between other like-minded individuals. These small bands of traveling merchants were the predecessors and necessary pre-requisites for the eventual storehouses, merchandise transfer points, and merchant colonies that would later be established just outside the main Germanic routes of war, communication, and international trade. It is at this point that the pervading class of merchants, complete with social codes and mores, became the "bourgeoisie."³²

Rebuilding the urban trade formerly lost hundreds of years prior, the merchants re-established trade with the Mediterranean, Northern Europe, and the East. Flanders was the first of the merchant colonies and trade centers, strategically located for its ability to service commercially the northern seas. Cloth, the basis of European trade, allowed Flanders to establish urban wage labor as a merchant colony.³³ As economic centers that could support large concentrations of people, Flanders and other merchant colonies acted as gravitational forces to groups of people seeking refuge from feudal horrors, including poverty and famine, drawing rural industry and labor to the merchant center. Commercialization guaranteed workers their daily bread and freedom from starvation. Commercialization remains attractive today precisely because of the same sense of security. By offering work, the bourgeoisie freed a portion of the serfs "only to re-enslave them with wage labor."³⁴

The Orientation of Markets is possible because of this early adoption of commercialization. As Burke writes, orientations are only possible because of the history of contextualized events.³⁵ In other words, the very fact that commercialization emerges for the purpose of security, which is actually for the purpose of allaying fear of food *insecurity*, fosters an orientation toward capital and resources on the basis of scarcity. Scarcity, then, is the foundation and character of the Orientation of Markets, the modern mode of seeing, thinking, living, doing, and being. Thus, even later notions of *laissez-faire* capitalism attest to a model of freedom, which is to say freedom from scarcity, based on markets as the primary solution. As Burke states:

the tendency of the culture will be to see everything in terms of this particular recipe of emphases, as the typical apologist of ideal *laissez-faire* Capitalism would think ‘freedom’ itself lost if we lost ‘free market freedom,’ since he conceived of freedom in these terms.³⁶

Scarcity as a European cultural foundation creates a negative other on which to pass blame, anger, and aggression, particularly if the defeat, enslavement, or capture of that negative other can procure resources that lead toward material surplus. Capitalism as a European system of domination is historically bound up with a basic antagonistic binary opposition to an “other”:

Indeed, Capitalism was less a catastrophic revolution (negation) of feudalist social orders than the extension of the social relations into the larger tapestry of the modern world’s political and economic relations. Historically, the civilization evolving in the western extremities of the Asian/European continent, and whose first signification is medieval Europe, passed with few disjunctions from feudalism as the dominant mode of production to Capitalism as the dominant mode of production. And from its very beginnings, this European civilization, containing racial, tribal, linguistic, and regional particularities, was constructed on antagonistic differences.³⁷

Race, Slavery, and Scapegoating

As the emergent merchant or bourgeoisie class continued to rise in power, they freed serfs from their manual labor only to convert them back into slaves through wage labor. Slowly, feudal birthrights, claims to freedom through a monopoly held by a privileged class, were eroded and replaced with a logic that linked freedom to capital, goods, and resources. Blood nobility now meant little.³⁸ The most lucrative goods of trade from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries were European slaves used for domestic services. Additionally, both European and African slaves were used for sugar plantations and work mines. The medieval slave trade served as a precursor to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade of the sixteenth century. Like feudal society that preceded the new capitalist formation, the proliferation of the elite was contingent on the subservience and domination of laborers. In fact, thirteenth century slaves helped capitalism survive its most vulnerable years. Slaves could continue to produce goods, withstanding “the periodic famines that struck Europe in this period, the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century and subsequent years, the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), and the rebellions of peasants and artisans.”³⁹

For the elite to thrive, the organization of both feudalism and capitalism was based on a contingent slave-system of domination and exploitation. The essential shift from feudalism to capitalism is a shift only in the means of power and the potential subject that wields it. Peasants that survived the plague arose “seizing land, executing lords, clergy, and even lawyers, demanding an end to manorial dues, petitioning for the establishment of wage-labor, and insisting on the dissolution of restrictions on free

buying and selling.”⁴⁰ The peasantry unwittingly demanded free enterprise and to be re-enslaved through wage labor. Put differently, they demanded domination that appeared to be freedom.

In Robinson’s formulation, racism, the belief in the essential inferiority of the other, gave birth to the conditions of capitalism, and capitalism gives rise to the condition and expansion of a corporate governmentality. For Robinson, capitalism:

expanded bureaucratic state structures’ became the major conduits of Capitalist expansion: determining the direction of investment, establishing political security for such investments, encouraging certain commercial networks and relations while discouraging others.⁴¹

Such is the power of the Orientation of Markets. Having seen the basic ability for markets and merchants to meliorate scarcity and provide sustenance in times of needs, Europe’s elite and peasants became ensconced by markets at the expense of human lives deemed to be “other,” being trained to un-see other possibilities for living. The effort to procure resources produces a scheme of orientation that limits awareness around all other systems of production and distribution. By the sixteenth century, the merchants were far from a class of victims; their banking practices, state loans, state monopolies, state business were “implicated in structures, institutions, and organizations that were substantively undeveloped in the Middle Ages.”⁴² In other words, their supremacy had become naturalized, epistemic, and crystallized in the structure of the state.

Race, or *Herrenvolk*, became the justification for the exploitation of labor and the extermination of people including Slavs and Jews. This justification was first supported by philological fable and historical novels, by the nineteenth century, however, race was supported with hard evidence via European “science.” *Herrenvolk*, the doctrine or racial

superiority was first used to establish the right to resources and the right to domination of some Europeans over other Europeans. The Slavs became slaves, a species of inferior stock fit for domination and exploitation during the Middle Ages. The Tartars occupied a similar position in Italy and the modern system of capitalism stretched itself over the world in the sixteenth century.

Prior to the Medieval Ages, the Church and nobility of the Holy Roman Empire were responsible for pacifying the public, weaving tales of freedom and unity to the populace. However, after the injection of capitalism into the modern state, the merchant class and the administrators of state power, in the pursuit of their own financial gain, nurtured the new myths of egalitarianism, freedom, and unity to pacify the populace, all while seizing every opportunity to destabilize public unification.⁴³ For example, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the merchants incited entire wars and revolutions to sanctify their masques.⁴⁴ When the Reformation in western Europe destroyed the last vestiges of a transcendent, unified Christianity, merchants and representatives of landowners could more easily discipline the Church, the monarchy, and the “masses” through “enclosures, the Poor Laws, debtors’ prisons, ‘transportation’ (forced emigration), and the like.”⁴⁵ Here, the population was made guilty of the very crimes against freedom that created the merchant class in the first place.

This subtle “scapegoat mechanism”⁴⁶ is rhetorically sophisticated. The Poor Laws were akin to modern welfare. As Martin Carcasson writes, this kind of rhetorical positioning justifies retribution against the public based on choice, not poverty.⁴⁷ The othering of state subjects as pawns for domination is a basic part of social purification

and social maintenance. As Burke writes, the creation of the scapegoat is the basic way to perform “vicarious atonement” and attach a criminal element to would-be usurpers.

When people are properly criminalized for the very crimes that would jeopardize the elite (and the very crimes in which the elite often participate), their punishment and discipline satiates the psychological dis-ease of the elite.⁴⁸ The racialized scapegoating of the current moment is but an extension of this early European orientation birthed in the Middle Ages.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the medieval system of citizenship, patrimony and blood-rights was replaced with a system of race. Capitalism, wielding the power of racialized and nationalist ideology, was now equipped with the teeth to bite and attack other prosperous nations, commandeer new markets, and dominate new peoples. Tightly woven into the fabric of the modern state, market capitalism became more than a model *for* government, it is the ascendant logic and orientation *of* government in the modern scene.

Capitalism is not the mother of European civilization. However, the Orientation of Markets has moved beyond the borders of Europe and established a global hegemony: “Political economies, that is national economies, enclosed them, and thus the bourgeoisie perceived what later analysis argues in retrospect is the beginnings of a world system as something quite different: an international system.”⁴⁹ Surplus through markets constitutes the agenda of the modern European governmental model. Modern European government, then, is the originator of capitalism and the corporation. Private corporations are not merely natural outgrowths of a capitalist system but are themselves modeled *after* the

corporation of government. To politically engage or make meaningful change in government in terms alien to a corporate-capitalist logic is likely counter-productive. The State understands no other language. Instead, it is important for citizens to modify government using the language that modern government understands: Capital. Just as European capitalist government authorized the re-appropriation of public lands for private use in England, it is easy to see how this same financialized system of power has extended across the world in racialized terms.

I turn now to unravel how the Orientation of Markets, the introduction and control of Capital in society, particularly in the form of debt, has come to dominate the world, in racialized terms. The following examples surrounding African colonization articulate a fundamental change in historical consciousness as a result of the market orientation.

Governments for Profit: The Orientation of Markets in Africa

The Orientation of Markets *commodified* humans as essentialized capital. If human labor is a coefficient of power and the primary driving force behind surplus and profit, then the Orientation of Markets sees humans as capital to be measured, controlled, and deployed for profitable uses. As Burke writes, our orientation gives us a sense of piety, a sense of what goes with what. In the same way that a Catholic may reason that “priests and guides are alike; a good Marxian may feel that priests and deceivers are alike.”⁵⁰ So it is that one seeing with an Orientation of Markets believes that human beings and capital go together, are co-terminus. Orientations decide the means by which we select our solutions. One who sees humans as capital is likely to deploy humans in

service or as products, against their humanity, to produce capital. It is easy to imagine how slavery for the benefit of monetary rewards can become a reality with such an orientation. Unlike in other eras, when slavery is defined on non-racialized and non-market terms,⁵¹ entire laws were enacted in order to impose the status of “eternal slave” onto Africans by Europeans.⁵² These rationalizations that justify the non-humanness of humans are a part of the “scapegoat mechanism” endemic to the Orientation of Markets.⁵³ Racial justifications are bound in a symbolic network that privileges a fearful orientation to the world in which the other is exploitable. A logic of scarcity precedes here, and life and death are seemingly always at stake. Land is not sacred. People are not sacred. They, like the self, are exploitable and meant to be fitted to profitable surplus. The theory of race represents the longest lasting justification for the use of humans as inhuman assets. The Orientation of Markets permits the use of people as property, to be used for the pursuit of more property. For example, when labor shortages in European markets hit Europe for the first time, the Orientation of Markets promoted the selection of foreign peoples as the means by which to build their New World.

Specifically, labor shortages in Spain, Portugal, and the Atlantic Islands of Sao Tome, Cape Verde, and the Canaries were the external factors that birthed European enslavement of Africans. Only later, after contact with the Americas, the swift genocide of Native Americans, and the new demands of plantation economies, were Africans transported to the “New World” for labor. European governments, then, leveraged businesses and traders to create “profits” through taxes on imports, exports, manufacturing, services, and workers, free or those enslaved.

European market demand in Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries built out the slave trade around the Indian Ocean. Now, Eastern Africans were taken as captives to fuel the Western economy.

By controlling commerce, European governments impacted and manipulated the lives of humanity on what would become a global scale. It was European governments, not private businesses, that authorized the trade of humans for profit, that created the international trade law to support their commercial hegemony and that enacted genocide on indigenous Americans in order to control land and resources. The capital generated from African labor led to the sustainable financial reinvestment in Western Europe's infrastructure including shipping, machinery manufacturing, technology, and agriculture. The advancements in technology allowed Europe to build larger and more efficient ships with the dividends of slave labor, expanding their monopoly on sea commerce. Meanwhile, Europe established navigation laws that purposefully hindered India's navy from engaging in meaningful nautical travel, stifling their ability to find new trade routes and grow commercially and economically. Europe, particularly the British, used their command of seas and the data from the many voyages of the trans-Atlantic slave trade to develop greater naval intelligence, strategies, tactics and technologies. Market productivity built both the world and the racialized positions within it.

The Orientation of Markets transformed the world dramatically. There is a reason that European governmental bodies decided to carve up Africa into tightly packaged, exploitable domains during the Berlin Conference beginning in 1884.⁵⁴ The answer: Control of resources. Here, Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and others carved

out routes for trade in order to exploit Africa's abundance of natural resources in service of gold, timber, and land development markets. This imperialism was:

in effect the extended Capitalist system, which for many years embraced the whole world- one part being the exploiters and the other the exploited. . . . one part making policy and the other being dependent.⁵⁵

The dependence of Africa means the reliable procurement of goods for European and publics. The relationship between European governmental bodies and Africa reflects the current material monopoly colonial powers have exercised in the past. European governments established a monopoly on trade by inventing the system of trade. Notice how the control of markets is paramount for the control of people: By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Portuguese controlled the East Africa ivory market, marketing African goods in India while selling Indian cloth and beads to East and West Africans.⁵⁶ The gold requisitioned in the Americas would go to finance the spices and silks from the Far East. In other words, the gold stolen from the Americas was appropriated by the Europeans to gain and maintain global market position and authority over surrounding Asian and African nations.

The Americas offered European capitalist governments the potential to expand gold, silver, and tropical produce in markets and demanded an increase in human labor. The Orientation of Markets presented a simple equation. Development + Labor Cost= Prosperity. The African slave became the key to European Capitalist governments "prosperity." With indigenous Americans dying at disproportionate rates due to European diseases, European nations turned to Africa to receive their prosperity. The Orientation of Markets, run amok, successfully plundered entire societies for the benefit of wealth and transformed humans into capital.

Europe already had a history of categorizing, hating, and stratifying humans based on “essentialized natures” for anti-Semitism existed in Europe prior to the slave trade.⁵⁷ However, it was only with the rise of the capitalist state that the modern form of White racism could flourish. Put more profoundly, markets and trade enacted through European capitalist government created systematic racism. Only through markets and government action could Europe develop the set of assumptions and generalizations that upheld racism as a profitable institution. “It is mistakenly held that Europeans enslaved Africans for racist reasons. European planters and miners enslaved Africans for economic reasons, so that their labor power could be exploited.”⁵⁸ The ideology of exploiting labor for profit at scale is a capitalist tenet.⁵⁹ Thus, the oppression of African peoples follows from the exploitation of African labor. In other words, one must first oppress African peoples on economic grounds, before oppression on racial grounds is even feasible.

As is easily discernable, human activity in markets, historically, has affected modern orientations at a deep level. The world we wish to bring into existence is made and re-made every day by the goods we buy and sell and the methods through which we buy and sell them. The world built from the Orientation to Markets has constructed a government based on commodification. A selling and consumption are ubiquitous forms of human experience and present a constant opportunity for rhetorical intervention.

Markets are the sites for the transfiguration of human to slave in the modern era. The material and spatial dynamics of markets represent a visual rhetoric of White power for Africans. Divesting the African continent of any semblance of authority and flooding African markets with European goods and services creates an ambiance of White

supremacy. The constellation of European laws, policies and religious fables set up the spatial and visual domination of Africa by White folks and generate the spaces, configuration, and circulations of power.⁶⁰ In the modern era, the use of debt through structural adjustment programs and austerity measures is a primary way to shape the material, visual, and spatial environment of people and discipline their actions within markets. In Burke, we see that the primary aspect of our monetary economy is the use of indebtedness. Debt is the symbolic “normalization of ‘guilt’ or ‘sin’” bound to the very definition of the Black.⁶¹ Debt is a rhetorical tactic used to cultivate a sense of “owing” to the dominant society and always a sense of obligation to the market system. Debt gets people up in the morning to go to work and generate profits for the corporate state. The implementation of debt constructs a new somatic reality, one in which a person is always striving for the symbols of exchange, monetary capital, for their actual, material independence and survival. As a result, the “indebted” owe as much to the system of capital as they do to any one debtor. Debt is useful for the corporate European state. In the Third World, European debt persuades people to forgo communal infrastructure that supports health and education in exchange for short term subsidies that support limited economic growth under the guise of “trust the market” thinking.⁶²

Simultaneously, debt opens continuous pathways to international trade, a necessary component of the capitalist psychosis built out from Europe’s Middle Age history and allows for the continued accumulation of resources from outside of State boundaries. However, debt harbors another rhetorical affect in Africa. If debt is a kind of “sin” in need of purification, then the creditor or the institution that assigns debt, is a

divine judge, a god. Where purification replaces darkness with angelic Whiteness, the pursuit of debt purification is the pursuit of Whiteness that replaces the dark Africans' sin of poverty. Where White folks control African economic growth through debt, European debt becomes an additional way in which Whiteness is legitimized as the judge of Black destinies. Debt is an additional means whereby the "everydayness" of Whiteness is re-inscribed.⁶³ My point is not that European nations and governments themselves cannot have debt. They can and do. My point is that European corporate governments, like traditional corporations, can pass the burden of debt onto citizens, particularly citizens of foreign and "darker" lands and still profit as a result.

There is a reason that money and markets are the "substitute for God."⁶⁴ Markets are the cauldron of heaven, the very place where the salvation of debt can occur. The submit-to-markets-logic promoted to Africans is all too persuasive. Sufficiently undermined by centuries of stripped resources, enslavement, and stunted growth in international markets, who would refuse salvation? Who would refuse freedom from debt-sin? The acceptance of market economies and market-based models of governance were all too easy to accept because they were adjusted to the conditions of poverty, conditions made possible because of European market domination. The global populace now live their lives in service of and tied to markets. Through "debt," markets have transfigured humans into capital, systematically transferrable in the marketplace.

Market Piety and the Black Other

Markets are more than sites of symbolic exchange, they are also sites of symbolic transformation. Consider how the domination of a market allows a group to control the mobility and the set of relational possibilities of the Black other. For example, the Portuguese took over the trade of cowries in Congo and the trade in salt in Angola. Additionally, the Portuguese set up a fort at Axim near the modern-day Ivory Coast to service gold trade to the hinterlands. This fort, however, doubled to sever east-west African coastal trade. When Axim canoe people attempted to work around European trade relations and establish direct trade and economic activity with other African nations, the Dutch West India Company became aware of their “treason” and ruled that Axim canoe people always carry Dutch goods worth four ounces of gold. This way, Dutch goods would always be traded alongside African goods. The Dutch successfully intervened in African markets, converting a purely inter-African trade system into a European-African trade system.

With such a move, “the White” is symbolically transformed from the “one among many with whom Africans can trade” to the “one with whom Africans cannot be without.” The goods and services Africans are demanded to carry are an extension of Whiteness and are made to be impossible to live without via market power. Basic inter-African human exchange now required European economic presence and is a Trojan Horse for the spread of the Orientation of Markets. European goods do not merely sit as inanimate objects, but are *material rationalizations*, weaved into the fabric of all African cross-cultural exchange and are entrée ways into new market development with

uncontacted, unsolicited tribes and groups. In short, European goods are promotional materials that prohibit inter-African relations absent Whiteness. No Black shall live without Whites. These goods are seeds of domination governed by an Orientation of Markets.⁶⁵

Notice the flow of Burkean piety, of what goes with what, here. Piety is that master term of rhetorical completion.⁶⁶ As Burke tells us, piety is “a schema of orientation, since it involves the putting together of experiences.”⁶⁷ Just as birds signal to the flock when danger is real, based on prior experience, so too does the bird signal to the group even when the danger is unreal. The presence of the symbolic expression of external, dangerous stimuli triggers a host of meanings and signals that spread through the community. So too with human societies. Relating to our above case of European mandatory market exchange, European goods and exchange must always go together. Where exchange is a primary way of building and hailing community and establishing cooperative relationships, European markets *go with* and make dependent African community-building on White folks. The symbolic transformation of African communities to pseudo-European marketing societies is of primary importance because African communities are not alone. A similar set of procedures have been established in Native American and Asian populations as part of the Euro model of colonization.⁶⁸ The linkages between experiential phenomena, between *White man*, *trade*, and *community* have been established such that the latter two terms cannot exist without the first. The Orientation of Markets establishes the linkages as the very term of “Blackness” goes with “White markets,” both from the standpoint of the Black and the standpoint of the White.

For White folks, “the Black” is a product introduced for the purpose of profit. For Black folks, “White markets” are ever present in communal relationship and the primary purpose of Black labor.⁶⁹ The dominant-subordinate relationship between the two are contingent on a pious arrangement, built out from a deep orientation to capital and markets, that recalibrates human to human relationships for the profit motive.

Burkean Piety and White Markets

Pious linkages extend into the modern era. “White markets” continue to go with “the Black/Other” in the “crack era” of the late twentieth century, when the United States government opened the illegal crack-cocaine market to urban cities for the purpose of pushing people into private and federally funded prisons, or when European governments of the nineteenth century waged an “opium war” in China “to insure that the Western capitalists would make a profit while the Chinese were turned into Dope addicts.”⁷⁰ If the Black/Other is meant to be used for profit as necessity of White markets, White market piety only achieves its rhetorical use when Black folks are made and remade to produce capital at the lowest expense possible. Prisons are helpful for enslaving people and fueling entire corporate complexes, both for the state and private enterprise. Additionally, White markets can clear out those persons standing in the way of opening new markets as in the opium war of China. In each case, the linkages between the dominant White market and the subordinate Black/Other create the conditions for continuous, systematic, and flexible forms of domination. When we anger at corporations for harming their employees, we do well to remember that corporations are birthed from the very logic of

European capitalist governments, and the children are only following the pattern set forth by the mother.

For W.E.B. Dubois, what American White liberals call “progress” in racial politics is marked by alternate forms of American Black material castration.⁷¹ As Blacks moved from slavery to Reconstruction to Post-Reconstruction, the legal restrictions placed on Black folks morphed in definition but not in fact, for Blacks were converted from one pious link of domination to another: from chattel slavery to wage-labor. Piety is present in each case, as “Blackness” still *goes with* White markets as a form of property. Frank Wilderson stresses the pious linkage between Blackness and ownership further. Arguing that the very ontology of Blackness, as defined in direct contradistinction to Whiteness, makes *impossible* any attempt to build Black social equity in White society. By extension then, the very function of a corporate state built for the protection of White shareholder-citizens *is* to reproduce Black poverty. As Wilderson notes, the terms of this arrangement will likely continue unless the system is corrupted by a Fanonian violence and completely dismantled.⁷²

If the position of the Black is, as I argue a paradigmatic impossibility in the Western Hemisphere, indeed, in the world, in other words, if a Black is the very antithesis of a Human subject, as imagined by Marxism and psychoanalysis, then his or her paradigmatic exile is not simply a function of repressive practices on the part of institutions (as political science and sociology would have it). This banishment from the Human fold is to be found most profoundly in the emancipatory meditations of Black people’s staunchest “allies.”⁷³

Wilderson emphasizes the impossibility for the state to meliorate Black life and establish equity:

Once the “solid” plank of “work” is removed from slavery, then the conceptually coherent notion of “claims against the state”- the proposition

that the state and civil society are elastic enough to even contemplate the possibility of an emancipatory project for the Black position- disintegrates into thin air. The imaginary of the state and civil society is parasitic on the Middle Passage. Put another way, no slave, no world. And, in addition, as Patterson argues, no slave is *in* the world.⁷⁴

Wilderson suggests that the entire project of the modern state is to relegate Black life to the margins, to maintain a basic disequilibrium in all areas of Black activity including health, finance, civil society, the family, education (even the university), etc. The seeds of this basic pious ontology began in the thirteenth century with the basic elemental “racism” that Europeans practiced on other Europeans. The same basic habits of racism spawned from the Medieval merchant class, gave rise to the dominant economic, socio-political system of capitalism and the particular way of seeing I call the Orientation of Markets. In this equation, governments are the first corporations birthed from a corrupted Euro-centric logic.

The capitalist psychosis has now infected the global body politic. In other words, non-European states are not exempt as actors on the stage dominated by capitalist ideology. These nations follow the same orientation of modern international sovereignty and power: Orientation of Markets. When governments are corporations, what use are social resistance strategies that lobby the State in noneconomic, non-market, and on purely humanitarian terms? And, to what extent is the neoliberal question being asked in the light of this clarity? I turn now to articulate how the Orientation of Markets is a useful component for meliorating the modern neoliberal situation.

Addressing the Neoliberal Question through the Orientation of Markets

The extended Medieval history I have provided troubles our critiques of neoliberalism by replacing our understanding of neoliberalism with an understanding of the Orientation of Markets. In so doing, I show how critiques of neoliberalism misdiagnose the economic problems endemic to the modern state and better address the possibilities for alternatives via Black empowerment rhetoric authored by Booker T. Washington.

Wendy Brown argues that neoliberalism has *remade* democracy, that “neoliberal reason . . . in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, culture . . . is converting the distinctly political character, meaning and operation of democracy's constituent elements into economic ones.”⁷⁵ Scholars believe that neoliberalism began as a set of policies enacted with fiat and force in the 1970s and 80s, when the fundamental conversion of “exchange” became “competition” in the markets.⁷⁶ Instead, the historical genealogy of the Orientation of Markets I have laid out suggests that democracy in the world was born from the capitalist state in the first place. Thus, democracy has not been *remade* by the neoliberal apparatus, but was *contaminated* since its feudal inception with the monetary pursuits of the state, and therefore is only maturing into the contorted form inscribed in its DNA. Thus, the “neoliberal era” is simply the latest development the cascading history of the corporate state. Nevertheless, an understanding of neoliberalism is helpful for understanding the contemporary stage of capital.

Neoliberalism is both free market reign of capitalism, and a way of seeing and reasoning in the world. Even in interpersonal matters, a relationship between two people

is evaluated based on each of the *assets* the individuals bring to the table. Eros love is recapitulated in private investment terms in the neoliberal era where potential mates think in terms of *ownership* of one another in marriage, *asset-allocation* in dating, and *dividends* in child-rearing. As Brown makes clear, neoliberalism is a fundamental rewiring of the humanist paradigm in private, individualized, and economic terms. For public interest, this means that industry and government are responsible for the knowledge produced in society.⁷⁷ Scientific activity, including the funding of research and the technological solutions subsequently derived are made possible and controlled by the same corporations and governmental bodies that control access to the means of production. In other words, markets determine what a society *can know* and *discover* about itself and others. In the neoliberal reasoning, education itself is to be sought after to make oneself attractive to employers.⁷⁸ Neoliberalism asks the public to let the markets take care of themselves. Social responsibility is “entrepreneurialized” and the public good is left to markets for support. As a result, the working middle class individual “works more hours for less pay, fewer benefits, less security, and less promise of retirement or upward mobility. . . . Growing inequality is also among the effects.”⁷⁹

Neoliberalism is the politically assisted imposition of market rules on the public.⁸⁰ The human being, as well, is remade into a mode of exchange: “the economization of society and politics could occur through the model of the household, a nation of laborers, a nation of clients or consumers, or a world of human Capitals.”⁸¹ In this formulation, the most important thing the neoliberal subject can do is to enhance its value and competitive positioning in the marketplace of love, home, and society. Every activity in human life

gets rated, charted and analyzed for its productivity, efficiency and monetary potential. Social media likes and followers, even our daily concept of “time” itself, must be operationalized and optimized for production and can be leveraged for financial gain. The human being is remade as human capital for the firm, the home, the academic department, the hospital, the family, the banks and for the capitalist state within which we “belong.” As competing capitals, then, inequality is the fundamental definition of human relationships and interaction. We cannot but be unequal if our individual capitals are defined in terms of value rankings and scores. This situation hampers the possibility of democracy according to Brown. Neoliberalism threatens to transform the very definition of the “public,” remaking natural lands into private entities.

So far, scholars like Brown and Harvey have no answer to the question: “What do we do now and next?” Harvey argues:

We are academics, after all, working with the tools of the academic trade. Our task is therefore to mobilize our powers of thought to formulate concepts and categories, theories, and arguments, which we can apply in the process of bringing about a humanizing social change. . . . They must be forged realistically with respect to the events and actions as they unfold around us.⁸²

I agree. For no act of scholarship should stand outside of its contemporary context. However, Harvey leaves us with no intellectual model of what the next appropriate actions are for ending the neoliberal regime of domination. However, the reason there seems to be “no alternative” to the neoliberal problem or an answer to the neoliberal question is because neoliberalism is not based on a set of policies birthed in the 1970s. Instead, neoliberalism is the flowering of the Orientation of Markets based on a European history enacted by the capitalist state following the end of Medieval feudalism.

Neoliberal critics like Brown, Kenneth Saltman, and Henry Giroux, state that the threat to democracy began in 1970 with the birth of Nixon era neoliberal politics.⁸³ However, I argue that the Orientation of Markets has been working against the ideology of democracy for much longer. That is, public and private interests have long colluded for the benefit of many interests, the least of which is the public's interest.

For example, the United States Federal Reserve is a privately held company instantiated on December 23, 1913 by Congress in effort to establish central control of the United States' monetary system and prevent financial instability. The Federal Reserve *is* a privately held corporation that controls federal interest rates. To print money, the U.S. Treasury borrows money from commercial banks like Wells Fargo, issuing commercial banks a bond that gains interest and that is then sold to the Federal Reserve as a "Treasury Security." The Federal Reserve is then granted the ability to create or manufacture the monies necessary to purchase Treasury Securities from the U.S. Treasury.⁸⁴ This is the most common way the United States has printed and kept money in circulation for the past 100 years. The Federal Reserve can also offer discounted rates of risk capital in order to save other privately held companies from undue hardship, even at the expense of citizens. Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are two examples of mortgage lending businesses allowed to thrive at the expense of the American taxpayer in 2007.⁸⁵

The Federal Reserve and the monetary policy surrounding it demonstrate how private interest is an integral part of the U.S. economy, monetary policy, and government. For this reason, it is imprudent to suggest that neoliberalism, the takeover of public modes of operation with privatization, is a new phenomenon. Rather, the very logic of

European capitalist governments carries within it the incipient prioritized monetary motive. The market motive, when prioritized, bends the fabric of society toward the pursuit of profit and away from the common good.⁸⁶ As I have shown in this chapter, the European capitalist state began thwarting opportunities for a common humanity prior to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade first with the enslavement of Europeans, then Africans. As such, the marriage of the public and the private did not begin in 1970, but instead has its origins in the fifth century with the fall of the Western Holy Roman Empire.⁸⁷ To mistake this fact is also to mislabel the necessary actions of neoliberal resistance in the current era. Giroux is wrong: modern resistance movements like Occupy and The Battle in Seattle did little to jeopardize the neoliberal scene.⁸⁸ In fact, the very problems of neoliberal state society have hastened, not slowed, in the last two decades.⁸⁹ When we misidentify the root problem of the neoliberal scene, we mischaracterize traditional protest and resistance as viable solutions to the neoliberal conundrum and omit other useful strategies, particularly those that involve the very markets we wish to resist.

Conclusion

The above history I have provided is long and deep. This history highlights both the limitations of contemporary neoliberal criticism and represents a pragmatic rhetorical tradition defined by an evolutionary model of ideation. Deep within the unfolding of time from the Middle Ages to the present, we have seen how Europe was seduced by a capitalist psychosis following from a basic Orientation of Markets. Importantly, we have also seen how the perversion of capital is not merely a symptom of the state but is instead

an *offspring* of the state as modern governments, infected with the habits of desperate feudal merchants, became the first corporations.

Every orientation comes with it a certain training that teaches us how and what tools to select in order to deal with our challenges. In some ways, orientation is the source of our problems and solutions. That is, problems and their solutions are made possible when we view experience from a unique ontological and epistemological standpoint. As Burke writes,

One's ideas of relationship obviously have a great deal to do with the selection of means under such circumstances. Savages could make fires by considering dry wood and friction as appropriate linkages in the process of fire-making.”⁹⁰

Orientations can cause us to make inefficient connections between events and therefore draw ineffective conclusions as in the tribe person who, believing the missionary wore the rain coat to bring rain instead of shield against rain, asked the missionary to wear the rain coat to protect against drought. This demonstrates a “faulty selection of means due to a faulty theory of causal relationships.”⁹¹ Similarly, the Orientation of Markets transforms humans into agents of markets. Rather than maintain money and markets as abstractions designed to serve human needs, the Orientation of Markets and the subsequent capitalist psychosis configures humans in market terms. They can either be owner or owned by markets, or sometimes both at the same time, but there is seldom room to be anything else. Such a psychosis, the corresponding social structure that follows from an Orientation of Markets has been the mainstay of society for over 1000 years. Race helped to jumpstart capitalism and continues to be a site for the investigation of the transformation of capital. So, what is the way out and forward?

The central escape from a corporate governmentality and ascendant logic of race and capital requires various forms of pragmatic force. As James Baldwin writes, Black folks must use any available means of persuasion in order to turn the tides of oppression. Indeed, for Baldwin, troubling the pious linkages surrounding Black folks are the key in transforming national, international and governmental consciousness. Interrupting the pious association of the terms “Europe” and “Civilization,” Baldwin imagines nationhood and governmentality absent a Euro-centric logic:

This is because White Americans have supposed ‘Europe’ and ‘civilization’ to be synonyms which they are not –and have been distrustful of other standards and other sources of vitality, especially those produced in America itself...What it comes to is that if we, who can scarcely be considered a White nation, persist in thinking of ourselves as one, we condemn ourselves with the truly White nations, to sterility and decay, whereas if we could accept ourselves as we are, we might bring new life to the Western achievements and transform them. The price of this transformation is the unconditional freedom of the Negro.⁹²

Black folks who choose resistance are poised to rewrite governmentality because their essential ontological existence is contingent on compliance with a system of domination. In Baldwin’s words, “The Negroes of this country may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream.”⁹³ The very presence of Black folks who refuse their designation as poor, short on resources, and economically destitute troubles the corporate structure of White “civilization” and modern government. Bringing the Black into wealth and power is a contradiction in the corporate state, a virus within and to the modern system. It ought to be expected that Black folks that amalgamate wealth, will be threatened, persecuted, and prosecuted based on an informal breach of the racial contract.⁹⁴ Black folks must continue despite this fact to serve as a virus to the state, for when Black folks choose to

make use of every available means, regardless of “eviction, imprisonment, torture, death” they are at their most effective in contesting the structure of White supremacy’s corporate governmentality.⁹⁵

It is into a long, deep history of a corporate governmental world dominated by logics of capital, the Orientation of Markets, and a ubiquitous capitalist psychosis that twentieth century rhetor, Booker T. Washington, speaks. In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, I articulate the way in which Washington enacts a phronetic rhetoric to trouble the Orientation of Markets, the symbolic linkages of Blackness and White markets, offers new rhetorical possibilities for Black state resistance and gives equipment for handling the neoliberal question in new, unexpected, and pragmatic ways.

Notes

¹ Charles Darwin. *The Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection: or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life and the Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. Modern library, 1872.

² William James and H. S. Thayer. *Pragmatism*. Vol. 1. Harvard University Press, 1975.

³ Kenneth Burke. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Univ of California Press, 1984: 7; Scott R. Stroud. *John Dewey, Kenneth Burke, and the Role of Orientation in Rhetoric*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2014: 51.

⁴ Stroud. *John Dewey, Kenneth Burke, and the Role of Orientation in Rhetoric*. 2014: 52.

⁵ Stroud. *Orientation in Rhetoric*. 58.

⁶ Robert Danisch. *Pragmatism, Democracy, and the Necessity of Rhetoric*. Univ of South Carolina Press, 2007.

⁷ James A. Mackin Jr. "Rhetoric, Pragmatism, and Practical Wisdom." *Rhetoric and Philosophy* (1990): 275-203.

⁸ John Dewey. "The Public and its Problems." (Ohio University Press: 1927).

⁹ William James. "A World of Pure Experience." *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* 1, no. 20 (1904): 533-543; John Dewey. *Experience and Nature*. Vol. 471. Courier Corporation, 1958.

¹⁰ Kenneth Burke. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Univ of California Press, 1984: 10.

- ¹¹ Wendy Brown. "Sacrificial Citizenship: Neoliberalism, Human Capital, and Austerity Politics." *Constellations* 23, no. 1 (2016): 3-14.; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001.
- ¹² Wendy Brown. *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. Mit Press, 2015.
- ¹³ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 7.
- ¹⁴ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 6.
- ¹⁵ Kenneth Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. Vol. 177. Univ of California Press, 1969.
- ¹⁶ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 38.
- ¹⁷ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*.
- ¹⁸ James A. Mackin Jr. "Rhetoric, Pragmatism, and Practical Wisdom." *Rhetoric and Philosophy* (1990): 275-203.
- ¹⁹ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 111.
- ²⁰ Theodore W. Allen. *The Invention of the White Race*. Vol. 2. Verso, 1994.
- ²¹ Michael Omi and Howard Winant. "Racial Formations." *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States* 6 (2004): 13-22.
- ²² Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 112.
- ²³ Scott R Stroud. "What does Pragmatic Meliorism Mean for Rhetoric?" *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 1 (2010): 43-60.
- ²⁴ Lloyd F. Bitzer. "The Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy & rhetoric*. (1968): 1-14.
- ²⁵ Cedric J. Robinson. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2000.

²⁶ Robinson. *Black Marxism*.

²⁷ Edward Arthur Thompson. *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire*. Univ of Wisconsin Press, 2002.

²⁸ Robert Latouche. "The Birth of Western Economy, trans." *EM Wilkinson*. London (1961).

²⁹ Latouche. "The Birth of Western Economy, trans."

³⁰ Jason W. Moore. "The Crisis of Feudalism: An Environmental History." *Organization & Environment* 15, no. 3 (2002): 301-322.

³¹ Henri Pirenne. *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*. Routledge, 2015.

³² Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 2000: 14.

³³ Karl Polanyi & Robert Morrison MacIver. 1944. *The Great Transformation* Vol. 2, p. 145. Boston: Beacon Press. Henri Pirenne. *Economic and Social History*.

³⁴ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 15.

³⁵ Burke. *Permanence and Change*.

³⁶ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 113.

³⁷ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 10.

³⁸ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 15.

³⁹ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 17.

⁴⁰ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 18.

⁴¹ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 19.

⁴² Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 19. The Orientation of Markets infected the State apparatus, orienting its structures also to a world of marketized trade. Moreover,

Mediterranean merchant groups were able to build and take over entire cities borrowed from Italian banking practices. Financial centers called piazza's, sprang up in new towns. These international merchant firms established a common form of correspondence to control the network and exchange of bills, spreading the industry of commercial speculation and the ideology of finance. For Spain under Charles V and Philip II, these Mediterranean merchant groups organized state revenues, ministered the most important estates, exploited mines, and shepherded the trade relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Cities such as Lisbon, Seville, Medina del Campos, Lyons, and Antwerp owe their existence to bankers and banking! As economic centers became boons for commerce and trade, immigrant workers moved into epicenters, growing the possibility of capital while making viable the use of slavery.

⁴³ Karl Mannheim. *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Translated from the German by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.

⁴⁴ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 26.

⁴⁵ Thomas Kingston Derry and Michael G. Blakeway. "The Making of Pre-industrial Britain." (1973). Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 26.

⁴⁶ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 11.

⁴⁷ Martin Carcasson. "Ending Welfare As We Know It: President Clinton and the Rhetorical Transformation of the Anti-Welfare Culture." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9, no. 4 (2006): 655-692.

⁴⁸ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 406

⁴⁹ Robinson. *Black Marxism*. 21.

⁵⁰ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 13.

⁵¹ Orlando Patterson. *Slavery and Social Death*. Harvard University Press, 1982.

⁵² Thomas F. Gosset *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. Oxford University Press, 1997.

⁵³ Burke. *Permanence and Change*: 13.

⁵⁴ Stig Förster, Wolfgang Justin Mommsen, and Ronald Edward Robinson, eds. *Bismarck, Europe and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition*. Oxford University Press, 1988. Some others may suggest that only individual companies can be concerned with the pursuit of profits. Thus, the following example: The Dutch Government colonized Pernambuco, Brazil in 1634 because it was the largest sugar producing area in the world at that time. To expedite the speedy colonization of the area and control the wealth, the Dutch authorized the trade of peoples via the Dutch West Indian Company, not the other way around. In the same way that private companies were not responsible for dividing Africa into neat segments for European colonization and exploitation at the Berlin Conference, neither did private companies create the laws that authorized the global trade of human beings or the mass genocide of Native Americans for gold pieces. Europeans knew that commercialism in the West Indies was value-less without African labor.

⁵⁵ Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Vol. 239. London, 1972. Further, sea port towns improved the efficiency of manufacturing that would later drive the Industrial Revolution. In fact, commerce from Africa helped to strengthen the

transnational connections between European nations. Sugar produced in Caribbean plantations was re-exported from England and France to other countries like Germany. Hamburg, Germany became the largest sugar refining center by the mid-eighteenth century as a result. In turn, Germany placed manufacturers in Scandinavia, Holland, England, France, and Portugal in order to resell the sugar and other goods to Africa. The United States, inheritors of England's capitalist institutions, depended for its economic development on foreign commerce. By the 1830s, slave-cotton trading accounted for nearly 50 percent of all exports from the United States. The slave trade helped establish the US shipbuilding industry, to better deliver slave made cargo to merchant marines, built up American towns and cities, and enhanced the production of produce and forestry through the implementation of African techniques and knowledge.

⁵⁶ Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. 1972: 76. African and Asian societies developed independently prior to European colonialism. However, following colonization, labor, minerals, natural resources, and land were stripped increasing continental surplus export and diluting native capacity to feed themselves. Zambia and Congo have produced vast amounts of copper for Europe, North America, and Japan. In 1964, Africa accounted for only nine percent of humanity, but included 28 percent of the total value of world mineral production. These assets were commandeered by largely European governments for the benefit of European citizens. The United States, for example, establishes the price of agricultural produce from Africa and imports to Africa and then subject the prices to reductions. The United States also sets the price of manufactured goods and sets the standards for the freight rates necessary for shipping

goods. There is little room for negotiation for the African trade partners. Moreover, the tradition of structural adjustment programs, loans granted to Third World nations for developing industry at the expense of civic infrastructure, is promoted and maintained by American and European governmental “shell organizations” like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These programs are designed to force countries to fulfill the needs of European markets and to ensure that African markets remain under European domination through debt. For example, from 1974 to 1986, the total debt of Sub-Saharan Africa ballooned from \$14.8 billion to \$102 billion dollars, representing a 300 percent more than the total gross product of these countries. Over \$10 billion was debt granted from the World Bank alone. Governments belong to the capitalist state, marshalling resources for the benefit of their “shareholder-citizens” at the expense of the shareholder-citizens of other nations. Like multinational corporations, European governments are the only ones who can decide when a foreign environment is no longer suitable for exploitation and can withdraw its presence at any time. This is by design. Were it not for the exclusive trade deals that make European manufacturing possible, that maintains European navies, that repays for imports, that maintains the power dominance hierarchy between Europe and Asia, then European governmental bodies would collapse.

⁵⁷Walter Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day*. Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁵⁸ Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. 88. Another primary way by which European states consolidated and maintained the hegemonic domination of the international markets was through international trade law, which was nothing more than

European law. No non-capitalist African nations participated in the construction of international trade laws. For this reason, international trade laws did not recognize enslaved Africans thrown over slave ships as “human lives lost,” but instead categorized these human beings as “transportable merchandise,” where the only legal issue was whether the slave company would be justly compensated by the slave-insurance agency. Additionally, Europe decided what Africans could and could not export. Gold and human beings were highly sought out. Humans as slaves helped cut down labor cost for European governments. Gold could be minted into coins to help drive the growing capitalist money economy in Europe. Africa was exploited for both its human and gold capital.

⁵⁹ Karl Marx. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. 1976.

⁶⁰ Michel Foucault. *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Routledge, 2013.

⁶¹ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 114.

⁶² Kwadwo Konadu-Agyemang. "The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana." *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 3 (2000): 469-483; Barry J. Riddell. "Things Fall Apart Again: Structural Adjustment programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (1992): 53-68.

⁶³ Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek. "Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81, no. 3 (1995): 291-309.

⁶⁴ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*. 108.

⁶⁵ Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. 111. In some cases, the Portuguese resorted to physical violence, not commercial skill and enhanced ships, to intervene and control African trade relations. In East Africa, the Portuguese assaulted Arabs and the Swahili to gain the advantage in trade.

⁶⁶ Thomas Rosteck and Michael Leff. "Piety, Propriety, and Perspective: An Interpretation and Application of Key Terms in Kenneth Burke's Permanence and Change." *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 53, no. 4 (1989): 327-341.

⁶⁷ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 76.

⁶⁸ Rebecca Adamson. "Land Rich and Dirt Poor: The Story of Indian Assets." *Native Americas Journal* (2003): 26-37; Ulbe, Bosma, Juan A. Giusti-Cordero, and G. Roger Knight, eds. *Sugarlandia Revisited: Sugar and Colonialism in Asia and the Americas, 1800-1940*. Vol. 9. Berghahn Books, 2007.

⁶⁹ Anderson. *Black Labor, White Wealth*.

⁷⁰ Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. 81.

⁷¹ William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Manning Marable. *Souls of black folk*. Routledge, 2015.

⁷² Frantz Fanon. "Concerning Violence." *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963): 35-106.

⁷³ Frank B. Wilderson III. *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of US Antagonisms*. Duke University Press, 2010: 90.

⁷⁴ Wilderson III. *Red, White & Black*. 10-11.

⁷⁵ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*. 17.

⁷⁶ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*. Henry Giroux. *Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy*. Routledge, 2018.

⁷⁷ David Harvey. "Revolutionary and counter revolutionary theory in geography and the problem of ghetto formation." In *Theory and Methods*, pp. 75-88. Routledge, 2017

⁷⁸ Barack Obama. "Obama's 2013 State of the Union Speech: Full Text." *The Atlantic*, February 12, 2013. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/02/obamas-2013-state-of-the-union-speech-full-text/273089/>.

⁷⁹ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*. 29.

⁸⁰ Jamie Peck. *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford University Press, 2010: xii.

⁸¹ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*. 32.

⁸² Harvey. "Revolutionary and Counter Revolutionary Theory." In *Theory and Methods*. 2017: 122. Still other scholars like Vivien Schmidt and Cornelia Woll argue that neoliberalism's strongest attack is on the State. More interestingly, the State is neoliberalism's greatest conquest as neoliberal policy often emerges from the State apparatus, through policy and governmental organizational bodies. Schmidt and Woll point out the contradiction of neoliberal theories- they at once suggest there is a weakening of the State, but also indicate that a strong State must exist for neoliberal policy-makers to enforce their vision. Here, whether one reduces the State in order to permit the free market or regulates the market in order to secure the availability of the State, the outcome is the same: A State that manages markets and monies in order to secure the productive and efficient value of markets and money. Neoliberalism remains resilient.

⁸³ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*. 2015; Henry A. Giroux. *Terror of Neoliberalism*. 2018. Kenneth J. Saltman. *Capitalizing on Disaster*. 2015. Europeans never valued a notion of pervasive equity upon which to base democracy. Competition, the very tendency to establish markets for European gain and destroy potential markets otherwise threatening to the elite, has for the past 1000 years been used in coordination with “exchange.” Indeed, trade helps private and national interests establish relational leverage over their trading partners. As we saw in the case of the Portuguese, trade was one of the primary ways to gain market authority so long as the exchange was strategically created. However, no group, no matter how oppressed will be kept from buying and selling, kept from market participation. All levels of both exploitation and opportunity are contingent on market participation. As a result, all groups and peoples have the power to interrupt the flow of capital through their very participation in markets. This is no small realization. It must be considered heartily.

⁸⁴ Lisa Smith. "The Treasury and the Federal Reserve." Investopedia. 2018.
<https://www.investopedia.com/articles/economics/08/treasury-fed-reserve.asp>.

⁸⁵ Barry Nielsen. "Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, Boon Or Boom?." Investopedia. 2018.
<https://www.investopedia.com/articles/07/fannie-freddie.asp>.

⁸⁶ Burke. *A Grammar of Motives*.

⁸⁷ Robinson. *Black Marxism*.

⁸⁸ Henry A. Giroux. *Terror of Neoliberalism*.

⁸⁹ Brown. *Undoing the Demos*.

⁹⁰ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 9.

⁹¹ Burke. *Permanence and Change*. 9.

⁹² James Baldwin. *The Fire Next*. Time, Dial Press, New York, 1963: 94.

⁹³ Baldwin. *The Fire Next*. 88.

⁹⁴ Charles W. Mills *The Racial Contract*. Cornell University Press, 2014.

⁹⁵ Baldwin. *The Fire Next*. 104.

CHAPTER 2: Phronesis, State Resistance, and Washington's Answer to Black Criminality

If the capitalist psychosis is deeply woven into the fabric of modern government and our modern conceptions of race, if the actual escape from the neoliberal model has very little to do with deregulation, and if the pre-neoliberal world that we imagine does not exist in the way we wish to believe, then what can we do to improve the various lifeways of people in the here and now in spite of our ubiquitous, ever-present, and deeply rooted Orientation of Markets? How can we come to trouble the relationship between race and equity within the contemporary world? We must stop our pursuit of social justice absent knowledge of tax law, financial policy, monetary incentives, and alliances with prominent businesses. We must maintain our ability to sit on the dollar and to refuse to spend in businesses that support oppression. We must recognize that a mass protest event is an awareness strategy for the public, not leverage against the state or corporate entities. Why did Black Lives Matter fail to continue as a resistance movement of prominence for Black empowerment? Why were body-cams not enough to solve for the deep habits of racialized policing? Why do movements that focus on economic like Occupy Wall Street fail to move the public beyond a simple awareness of corporate and state greed? As a rhetorical example, Booker T. Washington's rhetoric of Black empowerment through markets illustrates that the way to shift public consciousness, rather than simply change public opinion, is to create new, financed narratives in markets that speak to the deeply habituated motives of the public and the state.

What is required is a rhetorically phronetic, or practically prudent, solution for the current moment. Such a solution must recognize our deep commitment to the Orientation of Markets and the capitalist psychosis. It is no longer adequate to create neo-Marxists arguments around merely bucking the system.¹ While these arguments are robust and intellectually invigorating, they do not give us a practical pathway forward, with some scholars even arguing that there cannot be a practical way forward.² What is required is an ability to practically judge our modern situation and practically invent action steps to a world in which we wish to live and breathe. twentieth century scholar and entrepreneur, Booker T. Washington appropriately adjusts judgement to the deep symbolic Orientation of Markets in and through a pragmatic rhetorical commitment to *phronesis*. Washington shows us that, given the tight link between markets and public consciousness inherent in the Orientation of Markets: When we rhetorically intervene successfully in markets, we phronetically intervene in the common beliefs, habits, and lifeways of the public, creating the opportunity for new modes of believing, behaving and living for the public.

RHETORICAL PHRONESIS

Phronesis, prudence, or practical wisdom and judgement, is an Aristotelian ideal used by the “ideal rhetor” in order to persuade. Aristotle believes that the wealthy elite of a nation ought to have control over the state. Practical wisdom bridges the gap between making and doing, inducing action from the public. As Aristotle writes, practical wisdom is meant to help us arrive at a conclusion relating to specific public matters that require action.³ As Robert Hariman reminds, *phronesis* is “the mode of reasoning about

contingent matters to select the best course of action.”⁴ Phronesis is an intellectual tool that combines experience, deliberation, intuition and an appropriate selection of means for dealing with the problems of the day. Prudence forces us to select the right means among a series of others. A phronetic response to a problem requires habituated learning, deeply practiced in response to situations.⁵ *Phronesis* sits at the base of moral action in society and is constituted by lived habits of experience.⁶ Martin Heidegger later argues that particular attention to audience is necessary in order to act phronetically.⁷ To act with prudence or phronesis, then, is to act in relationship to a surrounding world populated by our neighbors. It is not enough to ask, “What is good for me” but instead, “What works for us?” More importantly, the subject that is addressed must be appropriately fitted for the context and circumstances. That is, preparing and adjusting audiences to a message is essential work for the rhetor. In racialized terms, this means that no answer to race question can live outside of all racialized groups. It is not enough to simply understand or comprehend a solution to a problem, it is paramount that we be practiced and wear the solution in our DNA, exercising our answer to our problem at the appropriate time.

Robert Terrill defines a species of phronesis he calls “oppositional prudence” that brings an audience “outside of the confines of the dominant culture.”⁸ This vision of phronesis recognizes the inherent possibility for practical action in any given situation. In other words, phronesis is an evergreen resource. For Terrill, prudence “directs its audience to attend in particular ways to its relationships with the other.”⁹ Prudence prepares the audience to grapple with ambiguity and to take action in a world where definitions are often troubled and uncertain. Most importantly, acts of rhetorical

phronesis, not only tell the audience what is practically wise, but models for the audience an example of practical wisdom in and through the rhetor.

Robert Hariman and Steve Schwarze argue that phronesis has a performative dimension. That is, practical wisdom is effectively translated through performance.¹⁰ The performative model of phronesis assumes that aesthetic choices are an important and impactful component of decision making. Citing Isocrates, Schwarze argues that phronesis is a social practice, not merely the job of an isolated rhetor. Whatever “truth” is, it is meaningless if it is not brought to bear on the practical uses and lifeways of audiences. Aesthetic experience is of primary import here because audiences need to be attracted to something. An audience needs to be drawn to discourse in some way before the selection of means and ends, before deliberation, before reconciliation, before any feature of practical reason can be actualized in the world. Isocrates, according to Schwarze, provides us with a way to handle the aesthetic and performative quality of phronesis by appealing to an audience’s sense of beauty. Beautiful discourse, like Helen of the Trojan war, moves an audience to practically reasoned action. It is important to note that beautiful discourse is always defined in terms of the audience’s needs. This is akin to Thomas Farrell, who argues that attention to the rhetorical audience separates rhetoric from all other arts. The rhetorical audience is that audience for whom deliberation is both constructed and managed. We complete our own ability to generate practical wisdom only when we participate with our audience. Rhetoric, as Farrell writes is:

a separate art which treats deliberation as an identifiable discursive form and the audience as "one who decides" . . . must be that there is need, at

times, to firm up and complete our own reasoning practice through the intervention of competent, interested others. Thus, it is that rhetoric, as distinct from all other arts and modes of inquiry, implements practical reason through the complementary participation of someone else: namely, the rhetorical audience.¹¹

Isocrates, according to Schwarze, performs phronesis not through an embodied sense, but a textual one. Given that Isocrates' work was not consumed in person but through text, the performative aspect of prudence, generated from Isocrates, does not equate to stylistic displays of extravagance or emotion. Rather, the boasting of an introduction, the mocking of oppositional discourses, and the presence of social satire each contribute to audience enjoyment, to beautifying discourse. As I will later argue, the beautifying of discourse need not merely speak to making the audience smile in the here and now, but instead can promise a future vision that satisfies present moment angst. Working in the realm of myth helps rhetors create identification with their audience. Excess is one tenet of the beautiful. By utilizing the incredulous narratives, anecdotes, and myths, the rhetor constructs a notion of the beautiful that draws in an audience. The key component to any conception of beauty in phronesis is this: an understanding of those rhetorically aesthetic values the audience finds pleasing. As Schwarze says:

In sum, phronesis depends on more than deliberative skill; it also relies on perception of and response to displays of beauty. Thus, considerations of display become central to phronesis insofar as display attracts audiences and moves them toward action.¹²

Thomas Farrell argues that rhetoric helps speaker and audience arrive at phronesis through collaborative deliberation while suggesting scholars speak within the terms of their rhetorical culture. When analyzing a text for its phronetic appeal, it is important to pay attention to the way in which the rhetor and the audience adjust to pre-established aesthetic values, or what looks/sounds good within the norms of rhetorical culture. By

sensitizing ourselves to the basic values a people wish to live by and the orientations that construct notions of the gaudy and the beautiful, we can better argue and adjust audiences to messages that serve their most common needs. We can better work to create phronetic solutions. This is the precise work of Booker T. Washington as he adjusts to the deep historical formation concerning the Orientation of Markets.

Even more enticing, Jim Kuypers argues that prudence is constitutive and can call into being audiences. Prudence helps us construct a “people” with particular beliefs and a partial identity wholly dependent on the act of practically wisdom. This audience is capable of enacting change. Prudence gets us to examine who we are and who we are becoming precisely because of its emphasis on character and ethics. Prudence considers how “we” constitute ourselves and speaks accordingly. Rhetorical acts of prudence have the power to transform society by rearticulating the moral and cultural contours of preexisting norms. This is the space of rhetorical invention.

Agreeing with Hariman,¹³ Kuypers writes:

In order for an agent to act prudentially he or she must be able to draw successfully upon the doxa operating in a given society in order to ascertain the ethical dimensions of the discourse at hand. That is, the appropriate ethos must be ascertained for a successful prudential performance. In this sense, prudence acquires a normative dimension- it involves the apprehension of what involves "good" communicating.¹⁴

Phronesis requires that we speak within the norms of rhetorical culture. This does not mean we fail to rock the boat of social mores but, that when we do, we do so with the practical language that our fellow citizens understand. This phronesis exemplifies the species of pragmatism at work in rhetoric studies. As Robert Danisch reminds us, one of the primary purposes of pragmatic rhetoric is to intervene in the public *sensus communis*,

the public's interpretation of common sense. Danish's prudential rhetorical pragmatism is designed to treat rhetoric as both *techne*, or skill and phronesis, and combine artful speaking with applied outcomes. The Aristotelian and Ciceronian revival in rhetorical pragmatism teaches us that phronesis is realized in practical application. Thus, if rhetoric is to carry profound weight in the arena of empowerment and resistance, it must return to a focus on practical and prudent action.¹⁵ Further, we are tasked with understanding not just what values we must speak to, but how and why those values are established in society. Indeed, Cicero's *De Oratore* describes practical wisdom as based on cultural experience and training.¹⁶ In other words, one must understand the set of lexicons pervasive within the audience to which one speaks in order to enact prudent decision-making and action. Wielding the power to interpellate audiences,¹⁷ the prudential rhetor transforms prior public relationships and calls forth an audience capable of instituting change. Always, the prudent, pragmatic rhetor acts on behalf of the community's needs, aware of the contingent and the changeable.¹⁸

Deliberation, according to Aristotle, is the appropriate selection of the means of persuasion in order to arrive at an appropriate end. Aristotle notes the importance of perception in prudence.¹⁹ Pragmatic rhetors must attend to not merely what seems to be, but also what seemingly is not so, but is. Prudence cannot be ascertained merely on the back of scientific knowledge, for a pure rationality cannot account for the particulars of experience, particularly of the experience of those often left out of the conversation surrounding science. Those who practice rhetorical prudence as individuals on behalf of the collective are those who can intuitively grasp the important features of the current

moment and craft a particular response. Further, our orientations deeply affect what we will accept as practically wise. As Ludwig Wittgenstein remarks:

What makes a subject hard to understand- if it's something significant and important- is not that before you can understand it you need to be specially trained in abstruse matters, but the contrast between understanding the subject and what most people want to see. Because of this the very things which are most obvious may become the hardest of all to understand. What has to be overcome is a difficulty having to do with the will, rather than the intellect.²⁰

The difficulty in assessing what is practically wise for the public lies with our orientational conditioning.²¹ That is, the habits of seeing, doing, being, and thinking constrain what we think, how we see, and what constitutes a enough problem-solution dichotomy. The best we can do is pay attention to the ways we have acted before, who was hurt, and how to live with greater freedom and abundance for the most people in the here and now. It is for this reason that attention to the deep symbolic and orientational history of markets and capital is important to address, far beyond the level that contemporary neoliberal criticism currently understands.

I move next to articulate two resistance movements, Occupy and Black Lives Matter, that demonstrate the lack of phronesis, or practical wisdom, in empowerment movements of the current moment. In addition, these two examples highlight the power of the state to resist groups or movements that threaten the flow of capital in markets.

Phronesis and Resistance

Resistance strategies to the corporate state have failed to act phronetically because they have failed to address the deep marketized commitments of the state, overlooking the deep-seated public Orientation of Markets. Phronesis requires a commitment to the

deep underpinnings of interlocutors and to the pervading *doxa*, or common opinion, of the public.²² In particular, traditional direct-action activism independent of market and monetary intervention is required but limited in its capacity to change public consciousness. To understand how traditional empowerment via marches and sit-ins are limited, we need look no further than the result of Occupy Wall Street's direct-action activism. As a symbol of financial and corporate resistance, Occupy is a site with which to view the role of the state in repressing traditional social resistance. Despite the impacts of social media's ability to diffuse the movement and resist state repression, there is little in the way of tangible results from the movement's existence because the movement failed to sufficiently create financial and market interventions.²³ Occupy was incredibly useful for spreading awareness, solidarity, and a sense of community around worker's equity, nefarious banking and corporate practices, the need for Wall Street regulations, and opened a conversation taken up by national and international audiences, in and throughout the public sphere including political media. Unfortunately, however, the movement failed to speak to the state within the rhetorical culture it is most persuaded by: capital and markets.²⁴

Occupy lacked one of the most notable definitions of *phronesis* given by Hariman: the effective political response to contingent events.²⁵ Occupy, like so many other traditional resistance movements, did not move beyond building national awareness of problems related to public and private wages. While Occupy's "Demandlessness," or the ability to simply resist in broad terms without delivering specific outcomes, helped to foster an inclusive movement constituted both by people who wanted to end Capitalism

and simply reform it,²⁶ without specific demands, the state viewed Occupy as a threat to its capitalist foundations, marshalling police officers to dismantle Occupy social encampments, arrest over 7,000 people, and strategically worked to incapacitate protesters who dared to threaten the modern form of capital.²⁷ The unfolding of Occupy Wall Street allowed the public to watch as the state utilized surveillance, force and coercion to silence the nonviolent protest movement.²⁸

Several reports reveal the various coordinated efforts among the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, US mayors, local police and private security personnel to monitor, strategically incapacitate and ultimately raid and dismantle Occupy encampments across the country in mid-November 2011.²⁹

Demandlessness is a problem because it does not articulate well with the state who expects negotiable, specific terms. Occupy's demandlessness, obviously, does not make any demands on capital, on public or private resources, on wage earners' time, or on corporate commitments, and are therefore illegible for negotiations of any variety. While Demandlessness is ostensibly effective for raising awareness, it fails phonetically because it fails to work within the appropriate rhetorical culture of the community it seeks to address.³⁰ It is difficult to arrive at practical answers to problems without practical points for demand and contention. Impractically and imprudently, Occupy simply left nothing toward which to negotiate. Without a clear vision of targeted aims, the movement positioned itself as an ever-present looming threat to the government and the state, a threat that could not be allowed to stand for long given the risk to corporate and taxable dollars. As a result, government responded to the amorphous presence of Occupy with increased police aggression and unlawful force on protesters. The city of

New York, for example, was accused of infringing on international law, citizen's rights to expression and blocked the freedom of the press.³¹ This use of State force:

produces a chilling effect on peaceful protest itself, dissuading people from exercising their civil liberties due to the fear of violence and legal punishment. In effect, the governmental response demonstrates the potential threat Occupy posed to the status quo and reveals the state's real political allegiances.³²

Occupy acts with prudence, however, when it begins to weaponize the market motive as a path to resistance, when they begin to speak the language the state will allow.³³ While, Occupy's limitations as a direct-action protest movement have been thwarted, arguably, Occupy's greatest tangible rewards have been delivered to the public after the marches stopped. Reeling in agony, Occupy began to identify smaller commitments it could attend to, raising money, over \$1 million, in order to help the victims of Hurricane Sandy, for example. *Strike Debt* is an outgrowth of the Occupy movement that seeks to purchase debt for "pennies on the dollar" on-behalf of debt-ridden citizens.³⁴

Additionally, *Occupy Homes* seeks to help homeowners delay foreclosure by camping out on foreclosed properties. As Occupy awakens to the reality of a capitalist state, they have become more potent by intervening in markets as fund raisers for people in deep need. Indeed, members of Occupy Sandy are interested in training people to market their cause through the *Wild Fire Project*, a project that aims to train people in raising capital, organizing, canvassing, and social media marketing. In the end, the strength of Occupy's initiatives will be in their ability to produce tangible value, in and around markets, for the public it intends to serve, not in merely generating awareness around a problem. The reason: Occupy protestors cannot escape their position within the current frames of the capitalist structure. How much power can one have when they are

dependent on the goods and services produced through the very capitalist relations one seeks to resist? For scholars like Marcus Green, “occupation as a tactic of protest is limited to its symbolic and communicative effects if it is not tied to a struggle of socio-political transformations that affects people’s ‘normal lives.’”³⁵ In other words, if the project of empowerment cannot practically adjust to the symbolic and socio-political environment within which we find ourselves, they are unwise commitments and lack the phronetic qualities necessary for viability. While the post-occupation organizations like the ones featured above attempt to do this, the original Occupy movement, unclear in its vision, could not. The original Occupy movement was useful for generating public consciousness around a series of actions, consequences, and events, but less helpful for providing a way out. This is the central limitation of traditional social resistance strategies in the modern age: both in and out of racialized contexts. Occupy is not alone. Black resistance strategies fail to seek non-market and non-monetary terms with which to protest and in doing so, fail to create tangible results for the various publics they wish to serve.

The Black Lives Matter movement in recent years has undergone a similar trajectory, useful in establishing awareness around the unlawful mistreatment of Black bodies, but not so useful in producing tangible impacts for Black folks beyond superficial policy arrangements. In other words, Black Lives Matter has failed to operate with practical wisdom. As Gino Canella argues, state violence against Black people, currently captured on smartphones and cameras, triumphs in the end as privatized and militarized police agencies preemptively suppress dissent and reduce the efficacy of citizen video

footage. Canella argues that government increasingly relies on technology businesses to collect and monitor citizen data through smartphones and online usage. The very presence of smartphones in the hands of activists, protestors and hackers has increased government suspicion and led to the rise of counter surveillance.³⁶ Simone Browne, however, assures us that government has been suspicious of and placed surveillance on Black people for over 100 years.³⁷ COINTELPRO, the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program was initiated and implement in order to monitor the actions, often times illegally, of Black activists during the 1960s.³⁸ Here, the FBI opted to redirect and neutralize Black Panther Party activists by infiltrating the movement, jailing leaders, and killing organizers like Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, particularly at the time when the Black Panther Party's critiques of global capitalism and state violence reached an apex.³⁹ Since the Black Panthers were viewed as a threat to the U.S. capitalist state, the FBI disrupted key speaking engagements for the movement, created internal conflict amongst the members, reminiscent of capitalist slave traders in West Africa,⁴⁰ by spreading rumors throughout national newspapers, and discrediting key organizers.⁴¹ Lesley Wood argues that protestors and dissenters are strategically depicted to the public as deviants, law-breakers, and violators of the public good, through a series of counter-activist messages delivered to the news markets, the press, by the State.⁴²

By developing friendly relationships with the press, a conflict frame is applied to protesters and depicts them as threats to public safety, law-and-order, and police officer safety. The news media often portray BLM as agitators of riots and social unrest, with President Barack Obama even reinforcing this frame during a 2016 speech in London.⁴³

Just like the state mandated that enslaved Black folks carry lanterns when walking alone at night during the eighteenth century,⁴⁴ Black folks of the current moment—

particularly Black Lives Matter protestors—are also tracked at all times of the day by the state, but through technological means like smartphones, online website visits, and data mining lists. As a result Black resistance can be neutralized before any true threats emerge.⁴⁵ Wood argues that this new version of policing is the “result of a neoliberal transformation of political, social and economic systems, and their effect on police organizations and decision making.”⁴⁶ The State uses soft tactics to contain dissent like protest fences, required rally permits, and designated areas for protest events, in addition to online monitoring of key players. In the event that these “precautions” do not contain the threat of protest, the state has allocated funds for the use of Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT), body armor, bullet-proof vests, shields, and tear gas.⁴⁷ The online monitoring of the Black Lives Matter movement is but an extension of these tactics by the state. The ability to neutralize all threats to modern global capital is the state’s mission, in other words, any attempt to dissent outside of the parameters of the rhetorical features of capital are perilous at best and worthless at worst. Consider that the Denver Police paid \$30,000 to a growing location-based software company called Geofeedia to access the social media posts of Black Lives Matter protestors.⁴⁸ The Baltimore Police department used these same tactics in coordination with fly over drones to monitor movement protestors.⁴⁹

Notice the tight relationship between the state and private enterprise to monitor the movements of Black dissenters. The state may not have the technical knowledge to monitor and surveil dissenters on their own, but they can easily hire companies that can.

Relying on a private–public partnership, the Fresno Police Department used software application Beware, which scans the name and address of an

individual, finds all available public information online related to this individual (including social media data), and applies a threat level (e.g., green, yellow, red). Officials from Fresno P.D. admitted they did not understand the program's algorithms or how threat levels were determined—only Intrado, the company that supplied it, did. These surveillance mechanisms are not dissimilar to the tracking of Civil Rights and Black Panther Party activists in the 1960s; modern technologies deployed in a neoliberal context in which law enforcement agencies contract with private technology companies, however, make the tracking of radical Black activists easier, more expansive, and extremely targeted.⁵⁰

Digital technologies do not only make it possible to neutralize Black Lives Matter movement protestors, but also allow police officers to share best practices with one another for neutralizing protest opposition.⁵¹ Here, the ability to generate State violence against protestors is made legible and available. In other words, activists do not merely have the issue of working within a highly monitored context, they also have the issue of working within a tight network of state policing that is constantly improving its best practices. This realization makes protestors fearful of their next steps and can even prevent White allies from joining in to support their fellow citizens for fear of having their own employment opportunities redacted and life situations disrupted.⁵²

Additionally, marginalized citizens, those folks most likely to be protesting, are virtually powerless in the way the state and local governments choose to spend tax monies. For example, Black Lives Matter protester Amy E. Brown verbally chastised Denver Mayor Michael Hancock for spending \$24 million of the allocated \$1.8 billion budget on additional policing, hiring sheriffs, updating computer technologies, and training for police officers during a protest event for a 24-year-old Black man, Michael Marshall. In the case of Marshall, the Denver police department settled on \$4.65 million to Marshall's family and no officers were convicted. This is a trend. The ten largest cities in the United

States have paid out over \$250 million in damages to families following incidences of police brutality in 2014 alone.⁵³ Even with body-cams or dash-cams and greater awareness of officer conduct through enhanced citizen surveillance, the underlying structural issues of State violence cannot be undone with traditional activism. It is no surprise then that body-cams hold no statistically significant effect on police behaviors or citizen complaints, in short, more evidence of state violence is not what is required for long-term changes in social equity.⁵⁴

Black Lives Matter failed to act with prudence because they failed to take into consideration the deep monetary commitments of the state and the deep symbolic history of the controlled Black. Prudence does not require a thorough understanding of symbols and deep history on behalf of the actors themselves, but does require a basic attention to the obvious, which is always-already in line with the symbols and deep history that inform our behaviors. It is obvious that market incentives drive public action. Why did Black Lives Matter neglect to speak within the norms of modern rhetorical culture: markets and capital? Marches do not appropriately address systemic racism, or the notion of Blacks-as-property held by the state. However, what would happen if the Black Lives Matter movement would have, instead of marching, created opportunities to starve a modern business? For example, Black Lives Matter could choose a business—like Facebook, or Beware, or Geofeedia, or any organization that harms the public by supporting nefarious policing practices—and create a public campaign around the boycott of that business. Black Lives Matter could identify and urge the public to stop following the news outlets known to be infiltrated by the FBI, organize “stay off the internet

weeks,” block access to actual businesses, delete social media accounts, and create hybrid fake accounts, purchase nothing online. Black Lives Matter could boycott businesses that use Facebook and Instagram ads. To do this, what is required is a practical understanding of the private to public relationships that helps the State protect itself against the needs of the public. Who, exactly, is helping police track movement leaders and protestors? From there, it is possible to begin to resist the hubs of markets, rather than the hubs of picket lines. Buying from Black owned business is a form of resistance in line with the strategy I propose. Black Lives Matter, like the Black Power movement before it, never had a chance to make impactful differences beyond awareness because it failed to pay attention to the obvious power connected with markets and capital. It is dubious that anti-capitalist movement can without leveraging the monetary motive for its own unique purposes.

Black Empowerment campaigns like Black Lives Matter lack phronesis because they fail to address the common environment in which their constituents are situated. Bound to a Duboisian strategy of political effectiveness, inattention to market and financial motives decreases the capacity for a truer form of political effectivity. The problem with mass movements and traditional forms of Black resistance is, as Greta de Jong articulates, “you can’t eat freedom,”⁵⁵ cannot march for the things that constitute a sound body, mind, and community from oppressors who have held material prosperity at a distance from Blacks. Indeed, de Jong argues that Blacks of the twentieth century, following the Civil Rights Legislations of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, recognized “that political liberties unmoored from economic security were mere shadows of freedom, incapable of delivering on their promises.”⁵⁶ Marches and sit-ins cannot

anticipate the vast swaths of technological innovation that render Black labor obsolete. Marches cannot stand up to centuries of government that has acted to co-opt people in the name of land and resources. Marches cannot retrain people to participate meaningfully in their current environments, and marches cannot feed people who are hungry. The freedom that comes from direct traditional protest is meaningful, but it is also phonetically incomplete. However, the real advantages of the political clout garnered from the Civil Rights Movement cannot be actualized until it is married with the monetary motive, with market participation by Black activists. For example, by forging a conglomerate of cooperatives in the South under the “Federation of Southern Cooperative” (FSC), Black activist attempted to pair economic and material access with political advantage. Black folks relied on self-help initiatives by creating economic centers for material advancement:

In the 1960s activists faced with a humanitarian crisis created by economic restructuring, politically motivated reprisals, and government inaction organized local communities to resist the pressures being placed on African Americans to leave. Taking advantage of resources made available by the War on Poverty and with the support of sympathetic federal officials, they forged creative solutions to the problems facing displaced workers in the plantation regions. Antipoverty projects employed the jobless while offering needed social services and injecting money into local economies. Cooperative enterprises provided work, income, and dignity to individual participants and helped generate broader economic gains in rural communities. These businesses, along with the training and technical assistance provided by the FSC, enabled small farmers to stay on the land and created new employment options for people whose jobs were replaced by machines. By allowing member-owners to make decisions for themselves, helping to maintain Black voting majorities, and encouraging people to exercise the rights they had won through Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, cooperatives fostered political as well as economic empowerment for Black southerners.⁵⁷

While more powerful, economically and politically astute Whites eventually resisted Black cooperatives, the principle had been established. Economic cooperatives were the testing ground for innovative community solutions, enabled Black folks to redirect and generate income for their communities, and created profitable businesses that indicated that Black folks could do more than just migrate to liberal territories. This is the alchemy of phronesis. Practically solving for the needs of community in the here and now, while generating the theoretical or guiding framework for continued empowerment tomorrow. As Hariman writes, prudence addresses “questions regarding the relationship between practical and theoretical knowledge, between cultural norms and more general claims to reason, and between aesthetic criteria and political interests.”⁵⁸ In this way, Black economic cooperatives merge the territory between economic solvency and defense against future White supremacy by wielding the language deeply rooted within the Orientation of Markets and participating in the thousand year conversation revolving around capital.

I am not suggesting that traditional resistance strategies have no merit and are always imprudent. On the contrary, the marches created by the Civil Rights Movement did much in the way of securing the legal deconstruction of Southern segregation and queued up the possibility of federal support for Black cooperatives. The cooperatives, ultimately, did more in the way of securing economic advantage for Black folks than any piece of Civil Rights legislation. Cooperatives were the muscle behind political ideation. For, “People are not free to act politically in their own interest when political actions can result in the loss of whatever small income they have.”⁵⁹ Economic Cooperatives, then,

represent a *basic protection* of political rights, not an additional solution toward economic solvency. Thus, if additional bouts of traditional Black protests are necessary, let them be against opponents of Black cooperatives. Let them be against the politicians that do not allow for pre-built Black businesses and establishments to prosper because of White supremacist's fears. In short, traditional resistance strategies succeed phonetically when they set up the means by which to procure practical resources.

Not surprisingly, the benefits of Black economic solvency are more than material success.

Co-op president Robert Miles observed that before the farmers organized, "The White man made us think we couldn't do anything for ourselves. He made us think we were stupid, and we went along with him." Participation in the cooperative increased Black farmers' confidence in their own abilities and gave them the freedom to make their own decisions. Shortly after its founding, the White landowner who had refused to pay members more for their crops told co-op secretary Bob James, "You know, you're doing this all the hard way, you that don't you." James replied, "Mr. Jacobs, we might be doing it the hard way, but we're the ones who is doing it."⁶⁰

Although traditional protest is invaluable in modern civic life, the goals of traditional protest alone cannot yield edible fruits particularly for the Black, caught up in the etymological and epistemological category of "unfreedom."⁶¹ By recognizing the limitations of traditional protest, we can enter more prudent sequences of resistance, wielding the monetary symbol to public benefit rather than public detriment. Traditional protests are limited in their ability to produce material rewards, as Black folks participating in the cooperatives saw, markets, however, are a major variable in public action and lifeways. While cooperatives are said to be different from profit making businesses as they place the needs of the members of the cooperative above shareholder

profits, I suggest that we view traditional businesses as cooperatives and their shareholders are its members. My rearrangement of the cooperative positions it as a business, a business with clear social ideals that still must pay attention to the needs and opportunities of the local market. As such, they who impact markets and the flow of market monetary symbols (dollars), modify the habits, life directions, and life decisions of the public. To demonstrate how market action impacts racialized consciousness, I will show how rhetorical constructions of slaves for sale built and supported definitions of Black folks as owned property and spawned the notion of Black criminality that continues today. Drawing upon original advertising sources for marketing African peoples like advertising from *N.B. Forest Dealer in Slaves*, I will showcase how the very marketing efforts of slave sellers facilitates a public understanding of ownership and control that continues into the modern day, spawning violent consequences. By way of exemplar, I then show how twentieth century educator and entrepreneur, Booker T. Washington rhetorically and phronetically intervenes in markets in order to combat the centuries long narrative of the Black criminal and establish a new, practical path forward for Black education and business.

THE BLACK CRIMINAL BUILT IN MARKETS

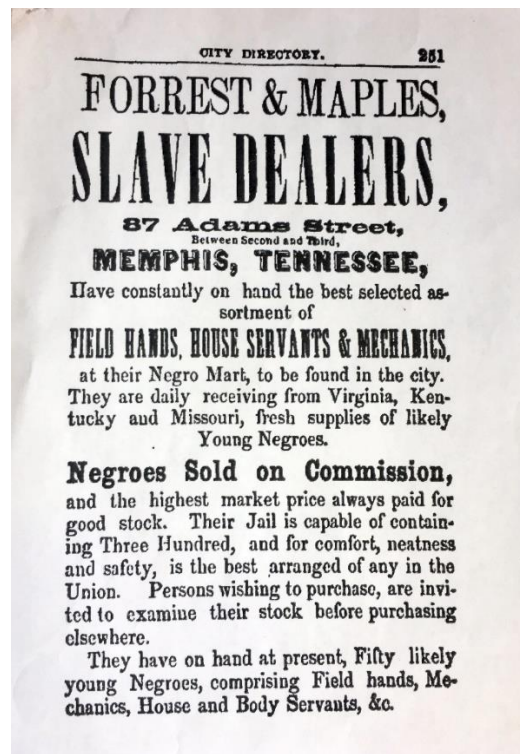


Figure 1. Nathan B. Forrester's advertisement for the African enslaved ⁶²

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is only possible because of markets and market communication.⁶³ Every Black person was placed into slavery via a market sale or trade. In short, there can be no Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade without markets, though other versions of human slavery have existed independent of markets.⁶⁴ While slave trade advertisements did not make Black people into slaves, they are important as artifacts of White thought on Black bodies in antebellum slavery. Additionally, due to these advertisements' mass distribution in newspapers, street corners and public centers, communication around Black bodies mirrors common logics still in place to talk about Black folks. Figure 1 indicates that a common purchase ground for the sale of slaves was the local jail, where Black folks could be arranged in neat, orderly packets for direct

exploitation. One can only ponder the resemblance to the modern era mass incarceration. In Figure 1, notice phrases like “fresh supplies daily,” as if the trafficking of humans is akin to the trafficking of fresh fish. Phrases like “highest market price” represent industry-wide selling points in each of these ads, particularly for young Black folks, as they communicate to the buyers a sense of quality assurance. This advertisement clearly communicates the sale of an animal product, where the “stock” can be examined “before purchasing elsewhere.” Black folks were configured as merchandise.

LIGHT.
No. 6 Higgins' prepared to supply the city celebrated light.)

BRACKETS, IDELIERS, &c.
It, suitable for this Oil, suitable for some of our best

BOSTWICK.
We have been using you sometime since, to be, a cheap, safe

E. D. SAYRE,
H. W. REED,
M. C. JOHNSON.

anted.
red into Partnership
GALL & CO.,
ves, and will trans-occupied by Jos. H. eet, Lexington, factory of Messrs.

and from misplaced confidence in medical humbug and quackery. Single copies sent (post-free) on the receipt of a stamped envelope, bearing the address of the applicant.
Address, NATHAN MAYFAIR, Esq., Bedford, Kings County, N. Y.
dec 9-23-3m S.M.P., N.Y.

A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES WANTED!
The undersigned wishes to purchase throughout the year, a large number of
SOUND AND HEALTH Negroes OF BOTH SEXES.
FOR which the **HIGHEST PRICE IN CASH** will be paid at his Jail, opposite the County Jail, Short Street, Lexington, Ky., where either himself or his Agents L. C. & A. O. Robards, at all times may be found.
Any letters addressed to me concerning negroes, shall have prompt attention.
Dec. 16-25 6mo. R. W. LUCAS.

PIANO FORTES.
A. H. GALE & CO.
TAKE pleasure in inviting the attention of Artists, Amateurs, and the public generally to their **NEW SCALE PIANO FORTE**, just introduced. The growing desire for a Square Piano Forte that shall approach the Grand in volume of sound, and, at the same time, avoid the ungainly appearance of that three-cornered instrument, directed our energies to the production of

And all information, Ticket Office, on Street and Ches Ticket Office of the

Leave for D
" " I
WM. FURNELL,
THE O
Will call for Passen leaving orders at my the Broadway Hotel Lexington, Nov. 2

FURNITURE
MAIN-STREET
JOHN M. SMITH keeps constant FASHIONABLE **FUR**
Of his own manufacture best prices. Person would do well to e ing. He is also pre **FUNE**
Having a FINE H superior **METALIC WOODEN COFFERS** made on short notice April 12-58-4f
HOWARD PHIL
A Benevolent Inst

FIGURE 2. 1859 for the purchase of slaves by R.W. Lucas of Lexington, Kentucky advertising "A LARGE NUMBER OF NEGROES WANTED! The undersigned wishes to purchase throughout the year, a large number of SOUND AND HEALTH Negroes OF BOTH SEXES"; used as illustration facing page 227 in Coleman's "Slavery times in Kentucky" with caption: "LEXINGTON SLAVE DEALERS' ADVERTISEMENTS, 1859" Part of John Winston Coleman Jr. collection on slavery in Kentucky. ⁶⁵

Nowhere is this clearer than in Figure 2, where Blacks are sold alongside pianos as expensive commodities. Still in other cases, Black folks were sold as seamstresses, body servants, mechanics, dual language speakers, cooks, and nurses, all tasks that only able-bodied human beings can perform as shown in Figure 2 and 3.

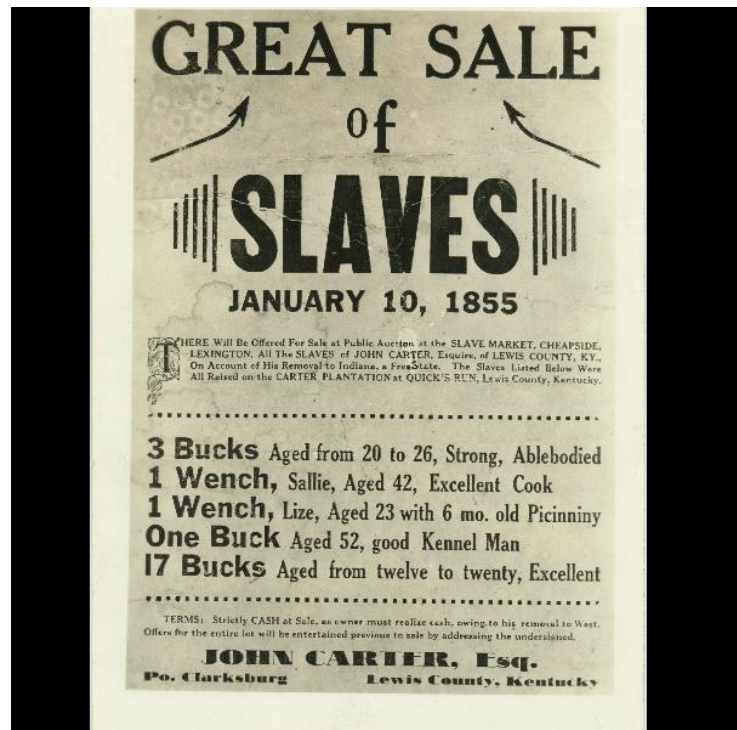


FIGURE 3. "Great Sale of Slaves" at Cheapside Slave Market in Lexington, Kentucky by John Carter of Carter Plantation at Quick's Run, Lewis County, Kentucky Part of John Winston Coleman Jr. collection on slavery in Kentucky.⁶⁶

Notice how the sale of people resembles the sale of modern-day real estate property in Figure 5. Interested "slave-flippers" could buy discounted Black folks from a distressed dealer in the same way that house "flippers" buy discounted properties from bank short sells and distressed home owners. Unlike pianos and real estate, however, Black folks placed into slavery could and did run away. Figure 1 indicates that a common

purchase ground for the sale of slaves was the local jail, where Black folks could be arranged as confined animals in neat, orderly packets for direct exploitation. Jails functioned in the Black community during antebellum slavery similarly to contemporary times. Jails are legal confinement centers of Black life for the profit of private interests.⁶⁷ Figure 1 identifies the sale of Black folks “On Commission,” suggesting a reasonable price for slaves and demonstrates a clear construction of humans as chattel.

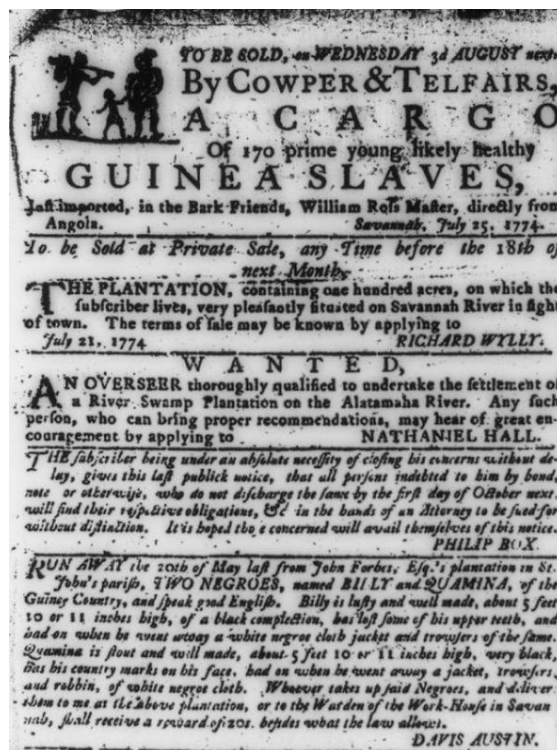


FIGURE 4. A Media Compilation of Want Ads for Slave Fugitives and Slaves for Sale.

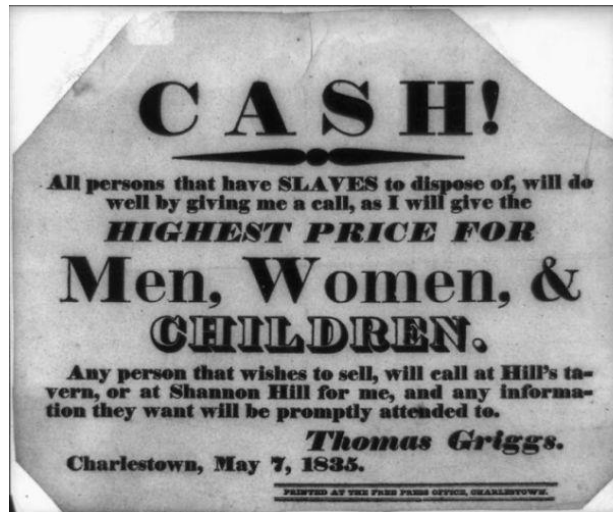


FIGURE 5. Advertising for Purchase of Slaves by Thomas Griggs, Charlestown, 7 May 1835.⁶⁸

If Blacks are property, then the very attempt to escape from the bondage of a White owner is a form of theft punishable by law. For this reason, the African enslaved could be beaten, whipped, flogged, left without food, incarcerated, or killed legally for running away.⁶⁹ Hence, Figure 4 and 7 represent the need for slave-capture services, often invoking the state in otherwise free territories to capture, re-enslave, and transport free Black folks to the South. Together, the marketing advertisements surrounding enslaved labor, including “run-away slaves” represents a powerful rhetorical legacy in markets that has created a lasting heritage regarding the term “Black” within which all African Americans are bound. If a Black person can be bought, sold, and treated as property regardless of their abilities, or precisely because of their abilities, then their bodies belong, always, to the White and the Capitalist State, both of whom are willing to enact violence on the Black body to discipline it back into its “essential category” of property. Any deviation outside of job and role parameters of property, for the Black,

means a threat to White supremacy *and* the capitalist state, most prominently using police force.

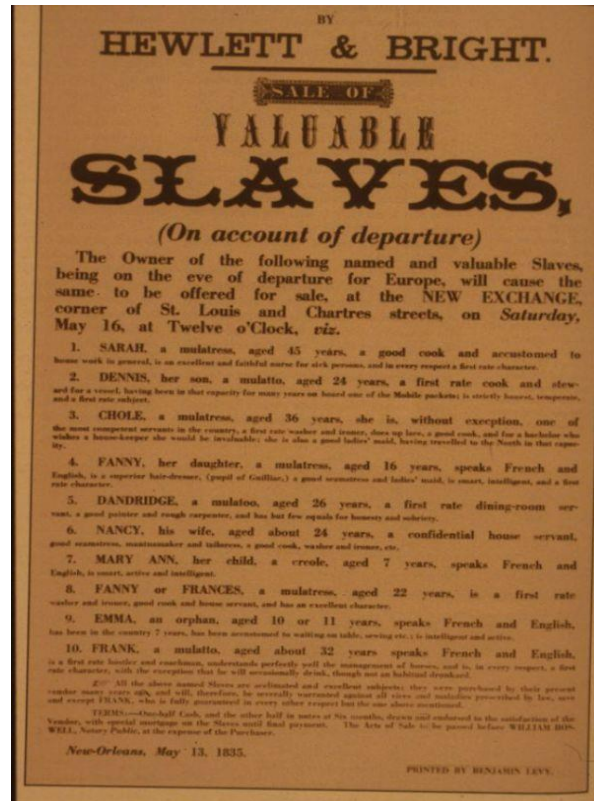


FIGURE 6. Sale of Enslaved Africans with Description of Attributes. ⁷⁰

Figure 7 indicates the use of police force in 1851 Boston to capture Black folks and “return” them to Southern owners, sometimes even if Black folks had never been to the South in the first place. This should seem strange, particularly because Massachusetts was a free state in 1783. Yet, rather than disempower and dissuade the state from capturing people for the sake of private interests, the Boston mayor and alderman authorized the capture and trade of people. The mayor of Boston in 1851 was John Prescott Bigelow. Bigelow sought to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the nationwide compromise between Southern slave-holding elites and Northerners. The law

was passed and signed by Congress and the President of the United States. In one famous case, Shadrach Minkins, an escaped African who fled to Boston in 1850, was arrested in February of 1851. Angry of his capture, 100-2000 free Black citizens broke Mankins out of jail and allowed him to escape to Canada. As a result of this incident, President Millard Fillmore moved to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law regardless of cost. The capture of a subsequent Black man, named Anthony Burns, cost the city \$40,000 or roughly \$1.2 million in 2019 dollars along with the life of a White police officer.⁷¹

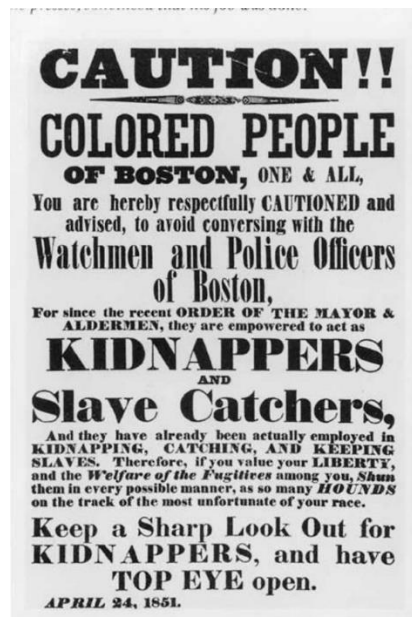


FIGURE 7. Warning to Black folks to Beware of Enslaved Fugitives.⁷²

Slave advertisements serve as evidence that markets set and perpetuate the definition of Black folks as property. What Bostonians and the greater American public were reacting to in the case of mayor Bigelow and Shadrach Minkins were centuries of slave rhetoric, transparent in advertising, that positioned the Black as White chattel. The Fugitive Slave Law, then, was a logical concession to Southern elites facing Northern

“pressure” on their slave workforce. If the North offered freedom to slaves, then attempts to flee to the North by enslaved Africans constituted a threat to White public and private wealth in the South. In other words, threats to Southern land development, property management, cotton industries, and domestic operations were jeopardized, according to the terms given the “Black” by Northern laws. The sense of impending anxiety over the loss of precious Black cargo made Southern White elites nervous, then angry. To forestall what would eventually become the Civil War, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was passed to allow for the successful retrieval of Southern property, should “it” escape. If the slave market’s rhetorical construction of Black freedom was a “threat to White wealth,” then the very notion of “Black Criminality” invented by White folks was designed to re-position Black folks back into their “natural” role as property *for* markets. The Civil War was waged precisely because of the threat of Black freedom on White wealth, for North and South alike. “The system of chattel labor was the cornerstone of the economic and social structure for one-third of the United States.”⁷³ To put it bluntly, the threat of Black freedom is the only thing for which Americans have killed other Americans. Some 25% of American soldiers perished during the Civil War, leaving deep psychic wounds upon the nation’s racialized consciousness.⁷⁴ Incidentally, “Black criminality” was invented by White supremacist following the end of slavery, when Black folks were otherwise “free.”

In the wake of the Civil War and Reconstruction, when the culture and politics of White supremacy in the South and across the nation were being reconstituted, African American freedom fueled far-reaching anxieties among many White Americans.⁷⁵

The 1890 census marked 25 years of Black freedom and its prison statistics were used to condemn the “poor choices” of unruly Blacks, tarnishing the public sentiment that Blacks ought ever to have been released from slavery. From the 1890 census, according to Khalil Muhammed,⁷⁶ the very notion of Black criminality as a heightened threat to public safety originates. I argue that the reason for the myths weaved from nineteenth century prison statistics and the invention of false Black crime statistics is due to a common belief derived from centuries of market behavior, from the sale and purchase of Black bodies: Black folks, according to White supremacist logics forged by market action, are property, not humans, fundamentally and therefore do not deserve the rights of humans. In fact, affording property the same rights of persons are dangerous for these units cannot think and behave civilly as they lack human consciousness and capability. Black criminality, then, is a natural element of chaos that ensues from allowing Black property the rights of humanity.

Following the 1890s census, national discussions of Black crime rates quickly became fuel for justifying prejudicial and discriminatory practices toward African Americans including access to public education, housing, and work. Here, Blackness was refashioned by crime statistics into a stable racial category inseparable from deviant behavior in public consciousness. American scholars of the nineteenth century argued that the brutish Black mind and culture contributed heavily to the presence of Black crime. Black pathology, an intrinsic sense of biological deviance, became the primary concept upon which White folks built Black criminality. Further, the notion of Black criminality gave license to White supremacist violence as a form of “public safety.”⁷⁷ The

death of Emmett Till and countless other Black folks during the Jim Crow era attest to the salience of White lynching as a form of control over Black people.⁷⁸

In the modern age, Black folks are routinely indicted for incidences of violence in cities like Chicago and beyond based on the belief of a pathological culture of criminality. The increase in prison fortresses and the forceful mass incarceration of Black people at unprecedented rates in the 1980s is a direct response of the rhetorical construction of “Black Crime” built upon the terms used to describe Blackness—that is, “property” and “chattel.” The policies of “stop and frisk” arose from a deep need to monitor all Black folks, not just those convicted of crimes.⁷⁹ Notice also how the policies that monitor Black convicts are very similar to those that monitored the Black enslaved in several ways. First, slave policies demanded Black folks mark their presence to White folks by carrying lanterns at night. Second, unaccompanied Blacks were forbidden to leave the property of White owners and could receive the death penalty for attempting to run away from White property. Third, Black homes were often searched for stolen goods or weapons by White patrol officers. Fourth, the enslaved could never work for pay. Fifth and finally, the enslaved were punished brutally for attacking White people, even in self-defense.⁸⁰ Like Black convicts, Black citizens are often harmed for defending themselves against White antagonism, are subject to search and seizures by the state through policies like “stop and frisk,” and are in jeopardy of punishment, including death, for leaving home without identification.⁸¹ Given that the terms of “property” as an essential definition of Blackness have not changed in American consciousness, neither has the spirit with which the policies of policing and monitoring Black society. Here, we see the

enduring effects of centuries of market participation on public consciousness in terms of race discourse.

There is no “commoditized” or “owned” Black body without the implementation of markets around the buying and selling of Black people. Therefore, the daily exchange and the communication regarding the sale of humans constitutes the deeply affected public consciousness surrounding Blackness itself. To put it simply: Trade in markets *created* Black folks as property. The notions of Blackness as property is the fundamental cornerstone of American racialized consciousness. The very marketing efforts of slave sellers facilitates a public understanding of ownership, criminality and servitude that continues into the modern day and is exemplified in the history of the American penal system.⁸² If markets and monetary incentives are a critical component of affecting the various modes of public reasoning, why should Black resistance practices not make use of the *lingua franca* of the state, of monetary and market strategies for affecting public consciousness and the public good? It makes no difference whether Blackness can ever actually *be* something other than “property” in the United States. It is beyond the scope of my argument and this dissertation to detail how Black folks can become “equal” with Whites. I do not think this is possible given the very use and definition of “Black”—that is, deviant, trapped, and violent—as diametrically opposed to “White”—that is, pure, free, and gentle.⁸³ Instead, my argument is meant to detail the significance of market effects on public consciousness, including racialized consciousness, and the subsequent power made available when market strategies are implemented as weapons of resistance against the state on behalf of the public good. I articulate how resources contemporarily

held at a distance by the state from marginalized communities are practically accessible thorough rhetorical interventions in markets. My conclusion is summarized best this way: When we rhetorically intervene successfully in markets, we phronetically intervene in the common beliefs, habits, and lifeways of the public, creating the opportunity for new modes of believing, behaving and living for the public.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON ALTERS PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS: RHETORICAL PHRONESIS IN THE MARKET

Booker T. Washington enacts rhetorical prudence when he intervenes in the market place to affect public consciousness and addresses slave stereotypes through his work, *Up from Slavery*. In so doing, Washington speaks to and with the deep-seated public Orientation of Markets and its offspring, the capitalist psychosis. *Up from Slavery* is Washington's autobiographic narrative and it details Washington's rise from slave to social entrepreneur. Washington counters White progressive's notions of Black criminality by describing his own Blackness in 3 distinct rhetorical personas: 1) the kind, former slave; 2) the respectable Negro; and 3) the entrepreneur.

First, Washington positions former slaves as kind, forgiving, and fundamentally ethical.

As a rule, not only did the members of my race entertain no feelings of bitterness against the Whites before and during the war, but there are many instances of Negroes tenderly carrying for their former masters and mistresses who for some reason have become poor and dependent since the war. I know of instances where the former masters of slaves have for years been supplied with money by their former slaves to keep them from suffering.⁸⁴

Here, Washington's kind ex-slave delivers monies to White ex-owners, continuing to deliver dollars to Whites in need just as they had done during slavery. The misfortune of former masters and mistresses goes unstated. Washington does not directly assert in the above statement that many Whites are dependent on Blacks. Instead, he insinuates that Blacks are not looking to rob, threaten, or kill former masters, but to heal and care for, just as during enslavement, White citizens as members of their own family. Washington writes that even Blacks in poverty will give sugar, coffee, and meat to those Whites that recently beat, enslaved, and tortured them. The trope of the forgiving, ethical Black is powerful here and serves as a counter-statement to the scheming, Black criminal. In fact, Washington tells a tale of an enslaved Black man given the opportunity by his White master to "buy back" his freedom. The man was to buy back his freedom on monthly installments and, in exchange, could work from any place he chose. The man was freed before all the installment payments were due. Ostensibly, the ex-slave could have fled and refused to pay the rest of the agreed upon dollar value of his own freedom, given that slavery was made illegal in the payment interim. However, Washington notes, "this Black man walked the greater portion of the distance back to where his old master lived in Virginia, and placed the last dollar, with interest, in his hands." According to Washington, the man "had given his word to the master" for "his word he had never broken. He felt that he could not enjoy his freedom till he had fulfilled his promise."⁸⁵

Far from the Black criminal, Washington's kind, forgiving ex-slave wants to diminish the looming threat of Blacks as property by drawing upon a Northern, White politics of liberal respectability that promotes an enduring, moral service to all, chiefly

White folks, through an ethos of honesty.⁸⁶ Where the ability to pay interests to creditors articulates the meritorious man's noble path out of debt, Washington describes an ex-slave who can upkeep basic lending practices and displays an ability to engage in honest, unspoken but beneficial contracts with Whites. The ex-slave is eligible for freedom precisely because of its ability to participate, for the benefit of Whites, in unspoken contracts, including those contracts regarding finance and segregation. After having positioned the Black as ethical, respectable, even in poverty, Washington moves to articulate himself as respectable, forgiving of White trespasses and loving:

I have long since ceased to cherish any spirit of bitterness against the Southern White people on account of the enslavement of my race. No one section of our country was wholly responsible for its introduction, and, besides, it was recognized and protected for years by the General Government.⁸⁷

Washington's own forgiveness is a redemptive act. It cleanses the reader of burdensome guilt and turns Washington into a friend of his White auditor. The auditor is invited to participate in Washington's own absence of bitterness and is led to contribute to a public forgiveness surrounding slavery with very low cost for atonement.

Washington's auditor need pay no reparations, needs no lashes nor are they required to utter any public apology to Black people, at first. Instead, Washington addresses White culpability with the statement "No one section of our county was wholly responsible," erasing both the criminal act of slavery from the White auditor *and* the criminal threat of slavery from Black ex-slaves like Washington himself. For, if Southern Whites cannot be blamed for the troubles of slavery, then no Southern White can logically be positioned to face violent retribution by Black people. Here, Washington erases the White persona to whom violence *should* or *could* be given by Blacks.

When Mars Billy, one of Washington's former masters, was killed during the Civil War, Washington reports a feeling of "sorrow" that overcame the many Blacks awaiting the war's end. Some of Mars Billy's slaves had played with him as a child, nursed him as an infant, and thoroughly cared for him throughout his life. Slaves begged for the chance to lie awake with their wounded masters in order to tend to their needs. Washington, at this point, draws a picture of dedicated Blackness that *cannot know* hatred. Washington's kind, considerate Black slave held fast to Whites during slavery and continued to care for Whites outside of slavery. Rather than imbue the Black with an anger and justify attacks on Whites, Washington continues to address Black criminality by assuaging White guilt through a respectability politics.

Washington displays a pragmatic commitment to rhetorical phronesis here as he utilizes what Schwarze calls "beautiful discourse."⁸⁸ Washington makes it easy for his White auditor to accept his plea for the ex-slave because he sandwiches his argument in between the absolution of White guilt. Washington's narrative regarding the kind, former slave depicts an aesthetic image of Black freedom consistent with the benefits of Black slavery. Washington depicts a beatific image of essentialized, unchanging, loyal, and meritorious Blacks that will uphold the foundations of White society, including White society's unspoken contracts. This beautiful discourse is a part of getting his White audience to accept his message. Written at the start of *Up from Slavery*, Washington's beautiful discourse is the delicious icing, or priming, on top of the product that makes the subsequent chapters easy to swallow.

Second, through narrative performance, Washington invokes an image of the respectable Negro in order to address Black criminality.

notwithstanding the cruelty and moral wrong of slavery, the ten million Negroes inhabiting this country, who themselves or whose ancestors went through the school of American slavery, are in a stronger and more hopeful condition, materially, intellectually, morally, and religiously, than is true of an equal number of Black people in any other portion of the globe.⁸⁹

The politics of respectability demands that Blacks categorize themselves along class lines and delineate amongst those worthy of citizenship in accordance with the following parameters: thrift, social charity, chastity, and the patriarchal family.⁹⁰

Washington distinguishes the American Black from all others precisely *because* Black Americans had endured the “school of American slavery.” As if socially purified by White violence, Washington said that Black missionaries often return to Africa to “enlighten those who remain in the fatherland.”⁹¹ He later writes that Black people got as much out of slavery as did Whites, for Blacks are in a moral, ethical and financial position of superiority over other Black people the world over. This further redress of White guilt not only expunges Washington’s White Northern auditor from the sins of Black enslavement, but positions enslavement as a kind of duty, privilege and *divine purification*. Drawing upon the very same logics that authorized nineteenth century Manifest Destiny ideology,⁹² Washington asserts:

... Providence so often uses men and institutions to accomplish a purpose. When persons ask me in these days how, in the midst of what sometimes seem hopelessly discouraging conditions, I can have such faith in the future of my race in this country, I remind them of the wilderness through which and out of which, a good Providence has already led us.⁹³

Through the institution of slavery, Providence has transformed the uncivilized Black savage prone to the “darkest heathenism”⁹⁴ into a holy sojourner, one who has traversed

the difficult terrain from slave to human because of divine law. Providence has led Blacks out of the mosaic wilderness and converted them into missionaries, harbingers of the White faith. Thus, the institution of slavery has converted Blacks from a state of animal consciousness to a redeemed, White consciousness now fit for citizenship for which Black criminality is a basic antithesis.

As a respectable Negro, Washington demonstrates his honest aptitude for work and education in the face of disappointment. As a child, Washington's step-father demands that Washington continue to labor in the coal mines of the South instead of attending the newly built school for Blacks in Kanawha Valley. Nearly dejected, Washington relies on his wits and thrift in order to secure night classes so that he might learn to read. Washington negotiates with his teachers to be taught to read at night: "After a while I succeeded in making arrangements with the teacher to give me some lessons at night, after the day's work was done."⁹⁵

Only after agreeing to take on twice the workload is Washington granted permission to finally attend day school and work in the coal mines. The respectable Negro demonstrates the capacity for work and individual drive, a necessary counterweight to the laziness and essential deviance of the Black criminal that White folks believe true.⁹⁶ Respectability demands that one does not blame others, but instead engages in hyper self-responsibility. It is clear how Washington accomplishes this throughout *Up from Slavery*. For example, Washington never opens a loop where he shares a problem without resolving to tell his audience how he fixes the problem: "The schoolhouse was some distance from the furnace, and as I had to work till nine o'clock,

and the school opened at nine, I found myself in a difficulty. School would always be begun before I reached it, and sometimes my class had recited.” He fixes the clock a half-hour forward so that he can leave work early. Even in this seeming element of mischief, Washington reminds his audience that he was but a boy and that he:

yielded to a temptation for which most people, I suppose, will condemn me; but since it is a fact, I might as well state it. I have great faith in the power and influence of facts. It is seldom that anything is permanently gained by holding back a fact.⁹⁷

Thus, underneath the subtle desire to create mischief was a stronger resolve to learn, to labor with productivity, and to stick to the honest “influence of facts.” Washington’s narrative demonstrates a capacity for honesty, even if self-effacing, and opposes the seemingly ever-present deceit inscribed in the mythology of Black criminality. Respectability is meant to curb White fear of Black people, specifically, the fear of Black crime bounded with the etymological/epistemological convergent nature of the terms Blackness and property. Washington’s narrative performance of the respectable Negro is meant to distance himself and other Black folks away from crime and toward a Northern liberal notion of citizenship, one that places individual thrift, work ethic, and social purity as endemic to worthy citizens.

Notice Washington’s pragmatic rhetorical phronesis in the narrative performance. By paying attention to *doxa*, or the common opinion of the day, Washington ascertains what Kuypers calls the ethical dimensions of society in order to act with prudence.⁹⁸ Respectability politics is meant to align with Northern White opinion, meant to signal conformity with middle class, White Judeo-Christian models of morality and ethics.⁹⁹ Washington deploys a politics of respectability in order to signal conformity to White

values and remove both himself, and by extension, Black people away from White mythic narratives of Black criminality. While respectability is a display of willful participation in White law and the norms of White rhetorical culture, Washington undermines the deep symbolic ties between Blackness, property and criminality by aligning his narrative performance with the twentieth century White ethical dimensions of *doxa* including: honesty, responsibility, thrift and productivity.

Third, Washington fights against myths of Black criminality by identifying himself and his students as entrepreneurs. Washington opens the preface of his text apologizing for his productivity:

I have tried to tell a simple, straightforward story, with no attempt at embellishment. My regret is that what I have attempted to do has been done so imperfectly. The greater part of my time and strength is required for the executive work connected with the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, and in securing the money necessary for the support of the institution. Much of what I have said has been written on board trains, or at hotels or railroad stations while I have been waiting for trains, or during the moments that I could spare from my work while at Tuskegee.¹⁰⁰

Productivity and contribution are the essential counter-weight to Black criminality, which is defined by a siphoning of resources from the White capitalist state. In a letter to Andrew Carnegie, Washington asks for \$20,000, but only after he lays out his previous accomplishments:

“We have 1100 students, 86 officers and instructors, together with their families, and about 200 colored people living near the school, all of whom would make use of the library building.”¹⁰¹ Washington then makes his ask:

Such a building as we need could be erected for about \$20,000. All of the work for the building, such as brickmaking, brick- masonry, carpentry, Blacksmithing, etc., would be done by the students. The money which you would give would not only supply the building, but the erection of the

building would give a large number of students an opportunity to learn the building trades, and the students would use the money paid to them to keep themselves in school. I do not believe that a similar amount of money often could be made go so far in uplifting a whole race.¹⁰²

Washington's students show up as a fourth persona in the above passage.¹⁰³ As students at a technical school, they are workers requiring only the tools to build and remake their own salvation. As productive entrepreneurs, not deviants, Washington positions his students as brick masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths who carry within them the capacity to double, triple, or quadruple the impact of White investments through their hands, hearts and heads. In other words, Washington positions his Black students as assets or extensions of Carnegie's legacy, extending it well beyond the capacity available through other charitable means. Fruitful in securing far more than \$20,000 from Andrew Carnegie as a result of the letter from which the above passage was taken, Washington was successful in delivering credence to Tuskegee's efforts and to distancing Black people, particularly those seeking educational opportunities, away from Black criminality.

Further, Washington links fundraising for Tuskegee to the edification of Black civilization. Washington's mentor and benefactor, General Armstrong, raised money on behalf of Tuskegee and never kept any dollars for himself. As Washington writes: "He knew that the people in the North who gave money gave it for the purpose of helping the whole cause of Negro civilization, and not merely for the advancement of any one school."¹⁰⁴ Where Black criminality is articulated as fundamentally selfish, Black productivity contributes unselfishly:

In order to be successful in any kind of undertaking, I think the main thing is for one to grow to the point where he completely forgets himself; that is,

to lose himself in a great cause. In proportion as one loses himself in the way, in the same degree does he get the highest happiness out of his work.¹⁰⁵

Washington and his students' work as entrepreneurs are on behalf of Black civilization, not himself. To lose oneself in the service of others, to be stripped of self-concern is a part the Western, Christian archetype of divinity.¹⁰⁶ It is impossible to be in such a divine state *and* conduct the unlawful crimes endemic to the perception of Blackness. Indeed, Washington elevates his door to door sales journey in Boston to divine status, invoking the name of the Christian God along the way:

If no other consideration had convinced me of the value of the Christian life, the Christlike work which the Church of all denominations in America has done during the last thirty-five years for the elevation of the Black man would have made me a Christian. In a large degree it has been the pennies, the nickels, and the dimes which have come from the Sunday-schools, the Christian Endeavour societies, and the missionary societies, as well as from the church proper, that have helped to elevate the Negro at so rapid a rate.¹⁰⁷

Washington's work in raising money from the Church ascribes a holy aesthetic to Black education. Thus, if the White church can support Black education, then Blacks are redeemable from their criminal, savage nature and ought to be given sanction to learn and produce alongside God's community. Where Black criminality presents a problem of demonizing Black bodies, minds and labor, the church and Washington's entrepreneur archetype supports Black life as productive, meaningful and fertile in uniting Whites to the cause of Blacks.

As Aristotle argues, the perception of reality is paramount for the presence of prudence.¹⁰⁸ Farrell reminds us that in order to act phronetically, it is important for rhetoricians and rhetors to understand the perceptions of the audience to which they speak, we must always attend to the norms of the rhetorical culture.¹⁰⁹ In Washington, we

see a willingness to position himself and his students as entrepreneurs as a means to speak within the rhetorical culture of market productivity, solvent investments and financial yield.

Washington's donor auditor, the one for whom *Up from Slavery* is meant to appeal in efforts to promote Tuskegee, understand the value of language centered around returns on investments (ROI). As a result, Washington's anecdotal narratives speaks within the rhetorical culture of both his White donors and White society when he builds a financially solvent argument around Tuskegee's cash expenditure, the magnifying effect of student producers on the ROI, and the tenacity of building a Black education start-up using church donations. Wealthy donors, including business owners and investors like Andrew Carnegie, are habituated in taking actions upon a reasonable ROI. Through the entrepreneur archetype, Washington makes a case for his own and his student's economic productivity. Where economic productivity is the symbol of truth, freedom and purity for the corporate state and White society, particularly for the early twentieth century South, Washington positions Black students as economic producers and as worthy investment opportunities, rather than financial liabilities. In so doing, Washington transfers himself, his project and Black folks away from those who would threaten/destroy White property to those who will produce/build collective assets. By maneuvering within the economic rhetorical culture, Washington gets White folks, otherwise fearful of Black peoples' inherent criminality, to give real dollars on behalf of Black education and business. In Washington, we see a measurable, practical shift in public consciousness regarding Blacks, business, and education over time in direct correspondence with the financial

wherewithal of Tuskegee. Tuskegee as an institution of higher learning on behalf of Black folks, justified in the face of Black criminality, is the practical result of Washington's rhetorical phronesis.

I do not suggest that Washington deleted Black criminality from public consciousness, only that Washington's rhetorical techniques circumvent the fear of Black criminality for his primary auditor: Northern White donors. It is for this reason that I call Washington's rhetorical commitment to phronesis pragmatic as his work instantiated the momentary identification between Whites and Blacks that allowed him to grow opportunities at Tuskegee for Black students. Most importantly, as Kuypers states, prudence articulates and hails an audience.¹¹⁰ Through his textual and performative efforts, Washington calls an audience of donors into being by arguing with that which his auditor finds most valuable. It is to Washington's role as a rhetorical value builder that I turn to in Chapter 3.

Conclusion

I have aimed to articulate how a rhetorically phronetic response requires we pay attention to the deep history of symbol usage, construction, and orientation if it is to be appropriately adjusted to the needs of the specific communities with and to whom we speak. I have shown how when we rhetorically intervene successfully in markets, we phronetically intervene in the common beliefs, habits, and lifeways of the public, creating the opportunity for new modes of believing, behaving and living for the public. Rhetors like Booker T. Washington need not consciously know that they are speaking to and

addressing centuries old constructions of Blacks a chattel. It is only important that Washington's responses address a basic, ubiquitous capitalist psychosis. It is not important that Occupy or Black Lives Matter leaders know the deep history of the Orientation of Markets held by modern Government, or the tight symbolic connection between Blackness, property and criminality. It matters far more that leaders pay attention to the pervasive orientations to capital that are always-already prominent and easily legible. However, pragmatic prudence, *phronesis*, requires that rhetorical scholars *do* pay attention to the deep historical orientations of audience in order to better assess that which is valuable to the set of interlocutors with whom we must constantly negotiate. This effort is the contribution of this dissertation and the central thesis for which I will steer the remainder of this project.

Booker T. Washington's rhetorical project illustrates how we can *phronetically* intervene in markets by adjusting ourselves to the needs of our audience. Drawing from the pragmatist tradition in rhetoric, I argue that the *phronetic* way to undo the corporate state, or what is often defined as neoliberalism, is to align the monetary motive—inherent in market participation—and the material needs of the self with the perceived concerns of the auditor. In doing so, we not only solve for the short-term needs of others in the here and now, we also replace the end goal of “capital gained *from* others” with “value granted *to* others.” This act of *phronesis* is the focus of this dissertation project.

Toward this effort, I offer the pragmatic rhetorical figure, the rhetorical value builder as *phronetic* solution to the seemingly inescapable quagmire of neoliberal criticism. The rhetorical value builder is my own term that describes the rhetor that

consciously aligns the self-interested subject with the perceived needs of their community auditor(s). The rhetorical value builder attaches powerful market and monetary motives to caring for others, to solving for the needs of the various communities within which we find ourselves. Few Black historical figures have served as a rhetorical value builder, intervening in actual markets to affect public consciousness, more prominently than Booker T. Washington.¹¹¹ For this reason, Washington is of primary import as he represents synecdochally the rhetorical value builder as a pragmatic and prudent archetype of public resistance.

Regarding prudent resistance against the corporate state: What if the public refused to pay property taxes until urban school systems received an equitable distribution in resources compared to the school systems of White and suburban communities? What if the public refused to pay car notes until manufacturing and employment was sourced directly from the United States? What if the public refused to shop or purchase items from any retail store where incidences of unprovoked physical violence occurred on Black people? What if the public placed money into Black banks instead of major companies like Chase and Bank of America? What if the public utilized cryptocurrencies to purchase homes, vehicles, etc. until fair business and real estate banking practices were honored in Black communities? What if Black folks developed self-sufficient organizations to help solve for education, housing and employment? What if Black folks boycotted businesses that benefit from mass incarceration? What if Black folks built online courses and infrastructure to educate young Black children within the home? What if Black folks created real estate enterprises that included built in schools

and entrepreneurial incubators? What if in 2012, following the death of Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, Philando Castile, or Sandra Bland, the public damaged local businesses until George Zimmerman was convicted? What if the public refused to pay back their student loan debt until universities could reasonably guarantee gainful employment to their graduates? What if Black student athletes leveraged their collective capital to stand against the mere lip service paid to diversity and inclusion on college campuses and stopped playing until minority enrollment rates reflected the general American population? What if urban cooperatives offered a better return on investment than the total stock market and the public withdrew money from stocks to fund local enterprises and entrepreneurs? What if the public withdrew financing from companies that fail to pay out reasonable pensions and benefits to employees? What if Black folks could build schools that enabled practical and liberal training adjusted to the needs of the surrounding public? What if the public built businesses best fitted to the needs of their local community members, leveraging the resources within those communities in order to best serve the needs of others? These questions indicate possible pathways that exists when we realize that market motives are built into the fabric of the European government and the state and that the prudent path of resistance does not and cannot separate politics, democracy or freedom from finance, capital and markets.

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CHAPTER 3: Washington as Rhetorical Value Builder

For Black folks, centuries of commodification as property have left a residue of objectification on public consciousness. The very marketing efforts for slaves built out an image of Blacks as items to be sold. Indeed, without slave markets and marketing, there would never have been a Trans-Atlantic slave trade. How should Blacks as essentialized *property* resist the state? What methods of empowerment exists for the non-human object? Arguing on the wrong terms, Black scholars of the twentieth century attempted to assert a basic humanity that largely failed to operate within the rhetorical culture of White folks. This is a basic good. However, the limitations of speaking to a White capitalist state in non-market and non-monetary terms are clear when Black folks watched their political positions weaken after Reconstruction and their occupational and educational possibilities dwindle. In the end, the European corporate state cared little about what Black folks could do for themselves and cared a great deal about what Blacks could do for White shareholders. Centuries of myth-telling regarding the Black as property are hard to dismantle in a single generation. Indeed, these myths continue, spawning new justifications for the re-enslavement and re-commodification of the Black body. Naturally, Black empowerment movements are not alone. Given the ubiquitous ways in which the Orientation of Markets commodifies humanity, resistance movements of the current era cannot be brought into full power without speaking within the norms of the rhetorical culture in which they seek empowerment: markets and capital. In dealing with the neoliberal question, scholars would do well to act phronetically, with deep practical judgement and wisdom.

Booker T. Washington provides an answer. By rhetorically intervening in markets for the benefit of Black folks, Washington link the exigencies of Black business and education with White society and capital. Here, Washington functions as a rhetorical value builder, practically solving for the material problems of his Black and White society by speaking to the pressing needs of each group. However, generations of scholars have overlooked Washington's example because they have paid insufficient attention to the ways in which politics and economics are forever entwined. Scholars have failed to realize how Washington's emphasis on Black *ownership* creates an argument around Black social and material equity, not White accommodation. By failing to pay attention to the public Orientation of Markets and weave an understanding of economics and finance into analysis of Black life, scholars have failed to understand the ways in which Black empowerment and resistance movements must speak within the rhetorical culture of the corporate state in order to generate practical results to the communities for which they labor. The Orientation of Markets demands that we rhetorically intervene in markets if practical, material, and broad-based change is to be made possible. Absent specific attention to the Orientation of Markets, Black folks awaiting independence will wait longer than they should, only later to find that they have been ringing the wrong doorbell of freedom.

In this chapter, I cross-examine scholarship about Washington in order to understand the academic mishandling of his rhetorical value builder argument, the myriad opportunities for redress, and how Washington makes possible a new, phronetic model of resistance in the contemporary neoliberal era.¹ In addition, I cite the prudent strategies

and tactics Washington used in Tuskegee to build value rhetorically within the prevailing *doxa* of the European capitalist state and in so doing, I show how Washington interpellates or calls forth a buying audience of Northern White donors to help solve for the needs of Black education and equity in the American South. Specifically, I rely on Washington's direct speeches and writings such as the "Fruits of Industrial Training," *The Negro In Business*, "The Atlanta Exposition," *Industrial Education of the Negro*, and Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, along with the myriad demonstrations, publications, and marketing promotional materials of Tuskegee to trace Washington's capacity to conspicuously sell the idea of Black liberation to White folks, repurposing White dollars for the deliverance of Black education in a racially aggressive South.²

THE MISHANDLING OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S RHETORICAL LEGACY

Throughout the twentieth century, scholars have critiqued Washington's program of action, largely calcifying him as a White accommodationist.³ I turn now to identify the brand of Washington scholars and commentators who label Washington as a White accommodationist. Bradford Vivian argues that Washington, as witness to the atrocities of slavery, asks his White audience willfully to forget the crimes against humanity in order to accommodate White folks. "Washington ceremonially appeals to his racially mixed audience to celebrate and draw wisdom from an innocent past that never was."⁴ For Vivian, Washington overlooks the horrors of present-day racism and endorses segregation in order to win the sentiments of White folks to his cause, delegitimizing the

past wrongs of slavery in the name of moving on. Moreover, Vivian writes that Washington's rhetoric upholds an image of Antebellum race relations to put Whites at ease, complete with docile and separate Blacks willing to satisfy the material exigencies of White society. While Vivian acknowledges the possibility that Washington utilizes a form of double-speak, addressing two audiences with different messages, Vivian argues that Washington is ultimately less about organized Black resistance and more about striking a bargain of limited terrorism with White folks. For Vivian, Washington's rhetoric is stillborn and fails to awaken a new era in the public. Vivian sees Washington as asking his Black audience to forget slavery permanently, rather than to move strategically beyond anger about slavery just long enough to have a conversation regarding a salubrious present.⁵

Scott Varda argues that Washington is a temporary accommodationist, satisfying the desires of White folks by making Black people "prove" themselves as citizens.⁶ Varda believes Washington values industriousness, education, and virtue, but makes no mention of business, equity, and ownership. Varda argues that Washington wants Black folks to live up to a vision of Blackness that the dominant White society has already envisioned for Blacks—that is, respectable, virtuous, cleanly, and faithful laborers. According to Varda, "Washington's advancement of appropriate conduct encouraged assimilation into American culture by suppressing the 'impurity' White America associated with Blackness."⁷ While Washington is aware of the basic notion of Blackness and impurity, Varda argues that Washington separates Blackness from impurity in the minds of White folks as the primary path to freedom. Varda's Washington is rhetorically

reactive, responding to a system of White supremacy by compromise and appeasement, rather than rhetorically proactive, actively creating a pathway to Black wealth and equity in an aggressive era of racialized violence and systematic oppression. Varda's Washington wants to whiten Black Americans by subscribing to a code of conduct *for* Black Americans as opposed to facilitating a code of conduct *by* Black Americans. For Varda, subsequent Black leaders like Nobel Drew Ali reinvent Washington's decrepit line of thinking for the purpose of Black empowerment, given that Washington could not achieve it.⁸

Additionally, Adolf Reed, Jr. argues that Washington is a "freelance race spokesman; his status depended on designation by White elites rather than by any Black electorate or social movement."⁹ Julianne Malveaux argues that Washington is outside of the Black protest tradition and remains a great compromiser to the desires of White folks.¹⁰ Further, scholars like Kevin Verney argue that, though Washington was enigmatic, he is principally self-centered, greedy and lacks a commensurate level of social consciousness given his national prominence.¹¹ Dubois' own treatment of Washington indicts him for refusing to acknowledge the role of Black protest and action in acquiring political rights. For Dubois, whatever economic gains that can be made by Black people in the United States can just as easily be taken away without representation and equal protection under the law.¹² As early as 1935, White scholars critiqued Washington for failing to "see the problem of democracy in industry; he failed to seek an alliance with the labor movement, or with any group that sought to render the existing order along more equitable and more stable lines."¹³

As Reed Jr. argues, Washington is the single most important informant to the White liberal establishment, and he compares Washington to a pet-like Uncle Tom, watching over the Black community and reporting back to White leaders like a loyal slave/servant. Reed Jr. argues that Washington enables White retreat from the political progressiveness of the Reconstruction era while simultaneously omitting the voices of actual Black people. Here, Washington becomes a metonym, a common representation, for all Black folks himself and is therefore unanswerable to the needs of real and actual Black lives. In fact, Reed Jr. cites Washington's legacy as the reason that single Black leaders today can come to represent the entire Black collective: "Washington's unacknowledged legacy in the modern era- that any Black individual's public participation always strives to express the will of the collectivity."¹⁴ Such representation leaves Black folks unable to speak for themselves as a collective citizenry because it silences Black public debate around Black issues. Reed Jr. moves further to argue that the likes of W.E.B. Dubois, Julian Bond, and Lani Guinier do not seek to translate, like Washington, the troubles of an esoteric, at a distance, Black populace, but instead are "participants in a common debate aimed at stimulating, directing, and taking political action."¹⁵ Reed Jr. warns against Blacks who "can qualify for the job only by giving White opinion makers a heavy dose of what they want to hear."¹⁶ Although Reed Jr. provides a compelling critique of micro-politics and discursive action as the only means of political action, Reed Jr.'s work is primarily a critique of the modern Black intelligentsia, activated by Washington's rhetoric. Here, Reed Jr. enacts a familiar, but limiting reading of Washington's rhetorical strategy: Washington neglected political

action, which gets things done, in favor of White authorization to education and due process of law. Reed Jr.'s very focus on political action is precisely what Washington sought to protect and express.¹⁷ Together, then, these scholars represent an academic misunderstanding of Washington's primary rhetorical and symbolic contributions to Black empowerment. Given the emphasis of Vivian's focus on his 1895 Cotton States Exposition Address, I briefly turn to articulate how Washington acknowledges in that speech, unlike his critics, the deep-seated Orientation of Markets and links White progress to Black empowerment.

The Cotton States Exposition Address

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the economically depressed South needed financial solvency and political solidarity following the end of slavery and Reconstruction. Washington, himself, was selected to speak as a "token Negro" precisely because White organizers thought the presence of a Black speaker would impress Northern visitors as evidence of racial progress. White folks were not willing to sacrifice the power co-efficient of White Supremacy, but they were willing to draw upon the resources of a superficial "race progress" narrative to attract public attention to southern industry, most notably to facilitate trade with Latin America. Washington's speech was given at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition. The purpose of the Exposition was to showcase the Southern region to a national and international audience. The Cotton States and International Exposition included over 800,000 attendees. In the early 1900s, fairs and expositions were a primary method of attracting investors,

businesses, and visitors to an area.¹⁸ Due to the absence of radio and television, the purpose of the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition was to showcase new technologies, capabilities, and develop the South's economic infrastructure following the Civil War. The Atlanta Cotton Expositions included three iterations: First, the 1881 International Cotton Exposition:

Although attendance was lower than expected (fewer than 200,000 in paid attendance during its two-and-a-half-month run), city leaders demonstrated that they could work together to host a major event and that Atlanta was serious about its role in textile production at a time when the North was beginning to grow dissatisfied with the efficiency of southern cotton processing. The exposition displayed new crop planters and cotton seed cleaners, along with a model of Eli Whitney's original cotton gin, and speakers addressed the crowds about agricultural technology and political reforms.¹⁹

The second event was the 1887 Piedmont Exposition, which further calcified Atlanta as a site for business development. Finally, the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition was the most ambitious and successful of all three. "The exposition was opened remotely by US president Grover Cleveland, when he flipped an electric switch in his Massachusetts home on September 18, 1895."²⁰ The ability to light up a remote city instantly was a public demonstration of Atlanta's technological capabilities and a symbolic demonstration of Atlanta's connection with the American president and a display of Northern and Southern reunification. In 1895, the Exposition featured special acknowledgements to women and African Americans and showed the latest innovations in mining, agriculture, transportation, manufacturing, and even film (an early version of the motion picture was displayed half way through the Exposition). The Expositions also included speeches by political and business leaders and were marked as sites of public political contestation. Leaders publicly made arguments for political

reform. In this environment, Washington is placed in the line of speakers in order to show the “progressive” environment of the “New South” Washington is called to speak on September 18, 1895. While the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition was lavishly promoted, the three-month exposition struggled with financial obligations throughout its entire tenure, highlighting the precarious financial situation of the South and Atlanta in particular.²¹

Vivian, Varda, Reed Jr., and others fail to understand the deep-seated public Orientation of Markets, the deep habituated ways in which monetary and market motives guide means selection and decision making. Vivian, specifically, fails to contextualize Washington’s Cotton Exposition speech properly. Paul Stob, regarding Washington’s rhetorical legacy, argues differently. For Stob, Washington’s 1895 Cotton States Exposition Address deployed a “rhetoric of hands” that “that positioned his listeners as agents of resistance capable of pushing back against systems of oppression.”²² In so doing, Washington expands the concept of civil rights to those humans beyond Northern urban folk. Indeed, for Stob, Washington’s rhetorical corpus deploys a cluster of terms that constitute a rhetoric of African American culture of “pushing, pulling, putting, grabbing, grasping, getting, holding, handling, touching, throwing, building up, lifting up, casting off, reaching down, and dragging down.”²³ Stob argues that it is a mistake to align Washington too closely with a politics of respectability as is typical of Washingtonian analysis, as Washington’s rhetoric in the Cotton States Address works to position Southern Black Americans as citizens capable of contributing to White society. In so

doing, Washington's rhetoric offered an opportunity to reconfigure the norms of White rhetorical culture.

For Stob, Washington "portrayed people who could not only contribute to the nation's direction but redirect the nation's purposes."²⁴ What appeared as respectability discourse in Washington's rhetoric, according to Stob, was really a "politics of imitation,"²⁵ a way to dissent publicly without inciting violence from the White majority. Imitation, for Stob, is how Black folks moved from property to citizen and created space for resistance. Stob argues that Washington's rhetoric invites White folks to see Blacks as more than property *and* invites Black folks to take control of their own destinies through pragmatic means. Washington's Cotton States Address invites the audience to shift their symbolic commitment from one part of the body to the other, from the head to the hands. By invoking metaphors of failed vision, Stob argues that Washington works to reposition the hands, and thus, labor, work, and industry, as the site of progress for the American South. By focusing on hands and labor, rather than sight and vision in his Atlanta Address, Washington takes the focus off superficial, racialized, phenotypic features and ornamentation. In so doing, Washington places Black folk side by side Whites in productive, meaningful work for which the South is desperate. In contradistinction to Washington's critics, Washington's Atlanta Address put the focus on Black labor rather than Black loins. Where Vivian, Varda, Reed Jr., and Mallveaux have interpreted Washington's Address as a call for social segregation, Washington is actually articulating an immediate refusal of White miscegenation in order to put his White audience at ease. While openly denouncing Jim Crow, Washington sought only to clear White folks of the

fear of sexual domination by Blacks in effort to distance “his plan from fears of race mix.”²⁶ This is Washington’s effort to speak within the rhetorical culture within which he finds himself.

It must be understood that Washington was given a platform in order to promote Southern White supremacy itself. Failure to do so often resulted in loss of life for African Americans. More importantly, we must note that White southern elite were particularly injured and were motivated to recapture first, dignity, then economic stability. Southern White folks ousted Blacks from political office and sanctioned White terrorism on Blacks following Reconstruction while paying lip service to racial progress.²⁷ As Burke notes: The requirement for dignity, to recover and build a more progressive national and international reputation can be understood as an attempt to recover a deep sense of worth.²⁸ For the 1895 Cotton States Address, Washington, stands in as a representative figure of Black life that facilitates the re-establishment of White dignity and progress through a promise of productivity that fulfills the needs of the capitalist psychosis. Washington’s message will be received well only to the extent to which Washington promotes White dignity and progress, most prominently in business. Not only is Washington successful in this regard, but by harnessing the Orientation of Markets, Washington creates a subtle, but powerful linkage within White supremacist thinking. Thus, White dignity and progress are *made possible* via successful Black businesses:

And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man’s chance in the commercial world.²⁹

Here, Washington moves beyond the South's sinful past in order to envision a better Black present and promote the ability for Blacks to acquire long-term material access through business. Washington further exacerbates the linkage between Black labor and ownership to White Progress. Addressing Whites, Washington speaks:

Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land.³⁰

Washington insists that Blacks, already precious as human resources in the America history, will "buy your surplus land," which is to say, "will establish property ownership and build equity." Washington makes an even bolder movement, placing White economic progress on the line for failure to allow Blacks to participate in business:

we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.³¹

The Failure of Washington's Critics

Vivian, Varda, Bond, Mallveaux, and Dubois have missed the value of the Orientation of Markets and Washington's rhetorical mastery because they have conflated Washington's discussion of "business and ownership" to a mere discussion on "politics and labor," believing Washington only wanted Blacks to serve as mere handmaids to White wealth.³² Criticizing Washington directly, Dubois writes that economic freedom cannot be attained without political suffrage:

The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for develop-ing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No... He [Washington] is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.³³

Dubois fails to recognize the depth of Washington's claims. While Dubois recognizes Washington's message of property ownership, Dubois undervalues the role of the deep-seated Orientation of Markets in American public life, particularly in the early twentieth century South. Rather than ask if economic stability can be maintained *in the absence of* political power, we can instead ask: In a body politic dependent on capital, that *sees* in terms of capital, can political power really be separate from economic stability? In other words, are political and economic power two sides of the same coin? Is it possible for a people to be simultaneously politically enfranchised and economically depressed? In his later work published with *The Atlantic*, Washington writes about his Dubosian opposition, which includes contemporary scholars like Vivian, Varda, Verney, and others, and argues that Blacks are not to abandon their political privileges at the expense of economic ones, but that economic privileges are a necessary pre-condition of power and suffrage in American life:

Opposition to industrial training was based largely on the old and narrow ground that it was something that the Southern White people favored, and therefore must be against the interests of the Negro. Again, others opposed it because they feared that it meant the abandonment of all political privileges, and the higher or classical education of the race.... they feared that the final outcome would be the "materialization" of the Negro and the smothering of his spiritual and aesthetic nature. Others felt that industrial education had for its object the limitation of the Negro's development, and the branding him for all time as a special hand-working class. All are

beginning to see that it was never meant that all Negro youths should secure industrial education, any more than it is meant that all White youths should pass through the Massachusetts Institute of Technology...but that in a peculiar sense a large proportion of the Negro youths needed to have that education which would enable them to secure an economic foundation, without which no people can succeed in any of the higher walks of life.³⁴

Dubois along with Vivian, Varda, Reed, Jr, Mallveaux, and Verney, makes the mistake of placing egalitarian or democratic motives over the salience of the Orientation of Markets.³⁵ Indeed, Dubois blames Washington for the “speedy accomplishment” of Black political disenfranchisement, a process that is already underway prior to Washington’s 1895 speech.³⁶ These scholars assume that Black public advocacy alone can procure more than superficial, minimalist development of political rights and that these rights, once attained, will be successfully maintained through Black political “pressure.” Washington’s critics do not consider the role of law in protecting property, in developing elections, or as a basic criterion for political candidacy, features of twentieth century American politics. Indeed, Dubois fails to figure in the role of capital in his political analysis and, as a result, misjudges Washington’s examination of Black freedom in the American setting. This Dubosian lapse in judgment has continued in and throughout Black political thought scholarship and has led other scholars to misunderstand Washington’s central argument surrounding Black political life: The Orientation of Markets has established economic materiality as a primary American language and gateway to stable living conditions that one must navigate with tact if one hopes to live a meaningful existence in the face of White supremacy.

Other scholars omit the role of capital in politics and devalue Washington’s claims as a result. Donald Spivey, for example, argues that Washington’s “training was

primarily in 'how to behave' rather than how to become skilled tradesmen."³⁷ James D. Anderson argues that Washington and Tuskegee focused on segregation, obedience to White authority and manual labor against academic learning.³⁸ Spivey eventually relates Washington to a Black overseer, an appointed “token” designed to keep Blacks from challenging a system of capitalist oppression: "His role was like that of the Black overseer during slavery who, given the position of authority over his fellow slaves, worked diligently to keep intact the very system under which they both were enslaved."³⁹ Spivey and Anderson seem to overlap with Duboisian criticism, maintaining that Washington's focus on labor is a back turn to equality. The salience of the market motive is missing from these analyses. Washington's detractors equate “manual labor” with “servitude” instead of equating “industrial education” with “ownership and capital.” Nowhere, however, does Washington suggest Blacks work for Whites as a primary solution to Black inequality as Vivian, Varda, Dubois, Spivey, and Anderson indicate. Scholars who confuse the equations of wealth Washington offered as a necessary component of Black freedom and suffrage, do so because they fail to understand the role of finance in Black politics and the deeply habituated public Orientation of Markets.

The Role of Economic Knowledge in Black Critical Thought

The reason scholars have failed sufficiently to address the role of the capitalist psychosis and the Orientation of Markets in their analysis of social and democratic equity is due to inadequate understanding of economics and finance in studies concerning Black society. As Mallveaux writes, Black academic literature and scholarship surrounding

Black political and social life, historically, have a dearth of economic content.⁴⁰ The exclusive focus on political equity has led scholars to forgo questions of finance and materiality. One of the consequences of inattention to Black economics is a quiet takeover of key Black institutions:

A course on Black entrepreneurship might well analyze the current trend in majority takeover of Black-owned corporations, including the costs and benefits of such moves. With both Viacom's (www.viacom.com) takeover of BET and Time Warner's (www.timewarner.com) recent acquisition of Essence magazine, African American people appear to have lost creative control of key institutions. The owners/sellers say that they will maintain their mission and integrity and that the intuitions will not change significantly. These sales are important in light of the history of Black entrepreneurship in the United States, a history that might begin with the odious and dubious practice that emerged during the eighteenth century of extending to slaves the right to purchase themselves and their families.⁴¹

What also is left untracked and silent is a deep historical observance “of land accumulation within communities, of African American ingenuity...and of the struggle to reduce monopoly power.”⁴² Scholars miss the importance of wealth flows when enough attention is unpaid to the monetary motive. The mistake that economics can be separate from political equity is to blame. Black entrepreneurs can place pressure on large corporate conglomerates and provide services unique to Black folks. Black capital can be used for land accumulation, creative enterprise, and educational opportunities. To detract from Washington, a clear example of such a possibility, is to miss the civic role of entrepreneurship in Black public and political life.

All considered, then, even modern discussions of reparations fail to adequately account for the deep Orientation of Markets held by the public and the State.⁴³ The monetary motive and its companion, “the capitalist’s psychosis,” demand that dollars be valued *more* than equality of outcome for real humans, particularly marginalized others.⁴⁴

When freedom is made possible via the monetary symbol, to demand Whites pay the hefty sum of reparations to Blacks is to reverse the roles of bondage, placing Whites in the slave role as forfeiters of “freedom.” Without enough attention to the monetary motive, such an equation of “capital” to “freedom” is lost and discussions of reparations to level the playing field begin. Even Mallveaux, clear in her assessment of the lack of economic analysis in Black studies and studies concerning Black political life, eventually falls into a discussion on *how* reparations could be paid, as opposed to *if* reparations can ever be repaid in a White supremacist state. In other words, Mallveaux eventually leaves behind the salience of the monetary motive in order to enter a thought experiment on the flow of dollars from White to Black hands.⁴⁵ We will find no surprise when the discussion on reparations never moves past academic pontification.

When scholars overlook the market motive, they also overlook the symbolic motivation of the human being. Symbols set up equations that reorder our interpretations of the world. As Burke writes, “‘Equations,’” we might say, cause us to collapse into a single chord a series of events that, by the nature of the literary medium, must be strung out in arpeggio.”⁴⁶ Symbols figure in for situations and “one event calls forth” another event, such that the symbol of money, for example, calls forth the symbols for certainty, peace, confidence, and freedom. This is the calculus implicit in the monetary motive. Since trade and equations of currency have existed prior to the invention of democracy, we might reasonably expect that the motive force of the monetary symbol very well overpowers the motive force of the demos, for people are often excited to action by dollars and cents then by freedom of religion, speech and assembly. There are military

servicepersons who willingly trade the latter freedoms for the “freedom” that money offers. Washington understands the motive force of the dollar and designs a program of action that can best arm Blacks with the ability to protect and grow communities in the face of oppressive conditions. Washington’s detractors fail to pay enough attention to the symbolic equations of capital endemic to modern civilization and the United States, specifically.

Harold Cruse argues that the Black intelligentsia, in its move toward racial integration, has overlooked the need for a powerful economic base upon which to build a powerful Black community.⁴⁷ Cruse argues that Black scholars have paid too little attention to Booker T. Washington’s economic model for the intelligent support of Black communal health. Cruse is particularly sensitive to the way in which integration undermines the economic solvency of the Black community. “Integration” for Cruse, is a weapon against the Black community that undermines the financial stability of consolidated Black income. Without enough attention to the capitalist psychosis and the Orientation of Markets, scholars have missed how conversations surrounding “integration” also include conversations about “gentrification” and “under-funded schools.” In other words, when Blacks sign up for integration, they get dilapidated buildings, poor public schools, and lose the financial integrity necessary for the support of prospective local and state public servants. Cruse writes:

Harlem is the Black world’s key community for historical, political, economic, cultural and/ or ethnic reasons. The trouble is that Harlem has never been adequately analyzed in such terms. The demand often heard- “Break up the Harlem ghetto!” (as a hated symbol of segregation)- represents nothing but the romantic and empty wail of politically insolvent integrationists, who fear ghetto riots only *more* than they fear the

responsibilities of political and economic power that lie in the Harlem potential....But this is fallacious logic that refuses to admit the class nature of the American social dynamic that permits social mobility only upwards into the middle class....Since integrationists see very little in group economic power, or Black political power, to say nothing of cultural identity, they ultimately mislead many Negroes on the bottom of the social scale whose fundamental ethnic group problems the integrationists evade and cannot solve.⁴⁸

Further, when told “vote Democrat,” Blacks do little to change the broad designation of the Black in the United States. Poverty levels remain generally consistent. “Affirmative action” is a similar equation: Predominately White Structure of capital + A handful of minorities = White capital accumulation and racial progress. It is no shocking recognition for Cruse to observe that “integrated” Blacks only seek the middle class as the ceiling for progress and wealth. In so doing, Cruse articulates, integrated Blacks lose their communal, economic, and political integrity in exchange for racial assimilation. Cruse’s logic is guided by a tacit symbolic equation of wealth. First, Cruse recognizes that “benevolent” White and Black integrationists attack Blacks when they devalue all-Black communities. Second, integrationists, fearing the potential economic and political mobility of Black communities, and therefore work to undermine these communities. Third, by confusing “racial progress” with “integration” integrationists successfully pull away attention from the economic challenges of Black communal disintegration and toward the superficial “American ideal” of racial assimilation.

As a remedy, Cruse returns to the Washingtonian premise that community growth is tied with economic mobility. Cruse argues that Black economic models need to go beyond standard American capitalism or Marxism and move toward a group economic model that produces Black capital and returns it to investment in the Black community.

Such a solution is only possible when enough attention is paid to the symbolic equations of wealth and capital. For if capital = freedom, life, and prosperity in American ideology, the entire political and social apparatus upon which capitalism rests will contour around the rules of dollars, producing a warped psychosis that devalues human life at the expense of monetary wealth. The solution, for Washington and Cruse alike, is to acquire the “weapons of power” in the form of dollars for community development. For though the dollar can be kept or redirected from a community, the dollar is never not a co-efficient of power in the hands of the community. For this reason, Washington publicly excuses segregation, and in so doing, protects and qualifies the Black collective as a marketable, economic base:

In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress... The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized.⁴⁹

Although Washington eventually anticipates integration, he condemns its

“artificial forcing” believing that artificial force produces artificial results like ones Cruse identifies in mid-twentieth century America. The push for integration misses the following equation of wealth: communal financial integrity + organization = political power. Simply striving for political power with organizational efforts, in the form of social movements for example, is folly, as it subtracts the motive force of the monetary integer. Such an artificial forcing undermines the real efforts of integration: to give equal opportunity of access to the nation’s collective resources to the nation’s citizens. Instead, disrupting the Black community’s financial integrity pushes urban dwellers into suburban

spaces and usurps the cultural, social, and political base upon which to take collective action for the specific needs of the community.⁵⁰ Additional challenges include the redistribution of public dollars in schools as a result of the change in housing geography. Moreover, true integration has never been a qualitative reality in America, only a political reality. There are still many White-only schools, country clubs, and offices all around the country. The artificial forcing of Black and White integrationists emerges due to inattention to the monetary motive. This certain blindness produces inchoate solutions to fundamental material questions like, “how shall we feed and clothe the children?” Campaigning and organizational strategies come to take the rightful place of financial modes of thought. Harold Cruse would be angry to know that in 2018, Harlem has been near completely gentrified, although its Black cultural landmarks remain intact. White folks are now the custodians of Black culture.

Around 2008, perhaps because of the global economic context within which citizens found themselves and perhaps due to the common inability to understand precisely what was occurring, Black scholars began asking questions about the presence of economic theory in the social sciences and humanities, particularly African American Studies. In 2008, Black and African American studies only had 1.72% of its faculty teach economics and economic theory to students.⁵¹ The dearth of financial and economic knowledge within humanities and social science disciplines, historically, accounts for the missing attention to the ways in which economic power facilitates political oppression. In other words, people pay insufficient attention to the monetary motive because they misunderstand the ways in which money is a primary motive force in society. While

Mason and Githinji argue that more texts in economics, calculus and statistics can meliorate the current lack of finance in the humanities and social sciences, most disciplines including rhetoric do not configure social arguments around Black capital and markets. More to the point, even when discussions of Black economics take place, they figure around features of discrimination, competition, scarce resources, and so on. Rarely do they speak to group economics, tax structures, or better ways to accumulate capital independent of White institutions. As Jessica Gordon Nembhard writes, “Economic equality is the unfinished business of the civil rights struggle. This notion is generally agreed upon, although exactly what is meant by economic equality and how to achieve such equality is not.”⁵² Black students are not prepared to think about capital in complex, proactive terms. Instead, Black students in the social sciences and humanities are left to be reactive to the flows of capital, analyzing the destruction of capital after the destruction is laid:

When economics is included in the curriculum, we tend to teach African American Studies students only about poverty and unemployment and occasionally about underdevelopment...Too often they learn about the mules and beggars that Du Bois lamented in a 1933 speech but not the cooperating men and women at the forefront of the “new industrial commonwealth,” creating the new city that Du Bois extolled.⁵³

There is a critique of Duboisian criticism tacit in the above statement. Exclusive focus on the ways in which Blacks have been undermined by flows of capital precludes the possibility to harness the flows of capital for Black development. Moreover, such inattention even excludes analysis of how flesh and blood Black entrepreneurs *actually build* flows of capital in the here and now. When we analyze the current environment of Black social life, then, what we are left with are arguments figuring around politics and

poverty, politics and identity, and the role of slavery in the modern American scheme, excluding America's financial institutions.⁵⁴ We are left with insufficient attention to the Orientation of Markets, the capitalist psychosis, and the symbolic equations of wealth endemic to the project of American capitalism and American democracy.⁵⁵

Washington's Rhetorical Value Builder Strategy

Washington's rhetorical address would have us look another way. By aligning his purposes directly with the values of his audience, Washington produces a phronetic rhetoric that adjust his message of Black empowerment to the deep market motives of White society, hailing a particular set of money-giving donors in support of Black and White liberation through industrial and business education. I refer to rhetors who engage in these practices as rhetorical value builders. As a rhetorical value builder, Washington produces a prudent method of building Black equity in an era of deep racial animosity.

The rhetorical value builder operates within the common, prevailing opinion of the day, sensitive to the deep historical and rhetorically constitute context in which they find themselves. The rhetorical value builder is fundamentally a prudent rhetor, rising to ethical leadership in desperate moments of precariousness.⁵⁶ The rhetorical value builder pays direct attention to performance, both producing texts for public persuasion on a key social issue. The rhetorical value builder is a pragmatic persona, one in which only measures that yield with practical, meaningful result on the basis of material reward bestowed to the marginalized are considered seriously. Rhetorical value builders push past the social decorum that masks injustice in order to phronetically intervene on behalf

of those most in need.⁵⁷ The rhetorical value builder displays the species of prudence that Kirt Wilson argues is more than conservative opinion but is the capacity to speak to the deep needs of those in power *on behalf* of those marginalized.⁵⁸ Rhetorical value builders rely upon that prudence that is interested in practice, in applied rhetoric, concerned with performance and decision.⁵⁹

Additionally, rhetorical value builders work within the political context in which they must act. For example, in Washington's era, the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890 provided federally funded dollars to Black educational institutions in 17 states, primarily in industrial arts. However, the act also legalized college segregation for Black and White students and created disparities in the quality of education and the amount of funding that supported Black colleges. The 1890 Land Grant Act followed the 1862 Morrill Land Act, which granted land use for public White universities in the industrial arts. Thus, nearly 30 years after Whites had been given the opportunity to learn, Blacks were extended state support.⁶⁰ Even in an era that paid lip service to Black education, but still did not want to use equality as a metric upon which to base political judgments,⁶¹ Washington understands that private marketing, sales, and rhetorical tactics are necessary in order to create identification between his Black students and his White donor base. The Tuskegee founder understands that state support for Black people is always already precarious and unreliable. Thus, Washington hails a massive audience of White donors on behalf of Blacks as industrial assets, not liabilities or charity. To do it, he speaks within the terms of the Orientation of Markets, in the language of capital.

Washington Pragmatic Rhetoric

Washington built and promoted Tuskegee primarily through cross-country speaking engagements, his writings, and by developing relationships with Black and White political elite. In other words, Washington built an enduring Black educational powerhouse by becoming a rhetorical value builder. By the age of 40, Washington consolidated a network known as the “Tuskegee Machine” of Black businesses and religious communities and worked to derail segregation and Jim Crow laws on behalf of Black citizens.⁶² Washington’s National Negro Business League assisted “dozens of communities in starting banks, stores, and other enterprises. The 'Rosenwald Fund School Building Program' was created at and coordinated by Tuskegee Institute.”⁶³ The Julius Rosenwald Fund, founded by businessman and philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, supported the education of Black and Jewish folks until 1948. Even before Rosenwald started the fund, Washington received direct contributions from the Rosenwald family. Rosenwald, founder of Sears, Roebuck, and Company was a friend and admirer of Washington and a member of the Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees in 1911. It was Rosenwald who, after reading Washington’s autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, convinced other wealthy White donors to re-appropriate a portion of their Tuskegee donations to build Black schools in rural Alabama. By 1928, 20 percent of all Black schools in the South had been constructed with Rosenwald’s funding. By 1932, over 5,300 schools, homes, and shops had been constructed as a direct consequence of Washington’s personal relationships and rhetorical force instantiated by *Up From Slavery*.⁶⁴ Notably, Black poet

and activist Maya Angelou and Representative John Lewis (D-GA) were schooled as young children in the schools produced by Washington's relationship with Rosenwald.⁶⁵

Further, after reading Washington's *Up from Slavery* while on vacation in Europe, Andrew Carnegie seeded money to Tuskegee for an official library. Carnegie called Washington a "Modern Moses" and apportioned \$600K to the Trustee of Tuskegee, William H. Baldwin Jr. A portion of this endowment was meant to salary Washington in order that Washington could focus on building Tuskegee. The letter from Carnegie reads thusly:

William H. Baldwin., Jr.

Trustee

My Dear Friend,

I have instructed Mr. Franks, my cashier, to deliver to you [sic] Trustee of Tuskegee six hundred thousand dollars 5% U. S. Steel Co. 1st Mortgage bonds for the Endowment Fund.

I give this without reservation except that I require that suitable provision be made from the gift for the wants of Booker Washington and his family during his own or his wife's life. I wish that great good to be entirely free from cares that he may be free to devote himself to his great mission.

To me he seems one of the greatest of living men, because his work is unique, The Modern Moses, who leads his race and lifts it through education, to even better and higher things than a land of flowing with milk and honey. History is to tell of two Washington's one White, the other Black, both fathers of their people.

I am satisfied that the serious race problem of the South is solved wisely only through Mr. Washington's policy of education which he seems to have been specially born—a slave among slaves to establish and in his

own day greatly to advance. Glad am I to be able to assist this good work in which you and others so zealous labor.

Truly yours,

Andrew Carnegie⁶⁶

Up From Slavery received critical acclaim from the father of American pragmatism when William James, a Tuskegee booster, claimed “that he could not understand how anyone of means could refuse a Tuskegee appeal after having read the autobiography.”⁶⁷ In addition to his autobiography, other books like *Tuskegee and its People*, *The Negro in Business*, and *The Future of The American Negro* helped to sensitize and create identification with his Northern philanthropists, propagating the mission of Tuskegee to a massive White audience. Together, these works paint a pragmatic picture of Black education to White folks in alignment with the prevailing opinion that Blacks ought to be relegated to the agricultural industries *while* flowing White capital to Black education for the purpose of Black economic independence. To do this, Washington assigns Black education a phronetic communal value, linking the study of theory with practice in student outcomes. At Tuskegee, the connection between theory and practice is paramount as students are required to learn both in the classroom and apply their skillsets outside of the classroom, particularly in those arenas where Black folks are most likely to procure assets: industry and agriculture.⁶⁸

Agriculture, according to the White prevailing *doxa*, was meant to maintain Black dependence on the land and limit their capacity for higher education. However, Agriculture, for Washington, is meant to serve as an easy access point for Black business

training as it is the site in which Black folks have had prior experience. In *The Negro In Business*, he writes:

Agriculture has not infrequently served as an entrance for members of the Negro race into business. As by far the majority of slaves were engaged in some form of agriculture it is but natural that their knowledge of farming should have been made the basis of the business undertakings of a number of the Freedmen.⁶⁹

The purpose of agricultural study, then, is not to relegate Black life to White subservience, but to use the marginal positionality of Black folks as entrée into business dealings. In this way, Washington adjusts the means of education to match the exigencies and ends of society. In *The Future of The American Negro*, Washington writes:

it seems to me that there never was a time in the history of the country when those interested in education should the more earnestly consider to what extent the mere acquiring of the ability to read and write, the mere acquisition of a knowledge of literature and science, makes men producers, lovers of labor, independent, honest, unselfish, and, above all, good. Call education by what name you please, if it fails to bring about these results among the masses, it falls short of its highest end. The science, the art, the literature, that fails to reach down and bring the humblest up to the enjoyment of the fullest blessings of our government, is weak, no matter how costly the buildings or apparatus used or how modern the methods of instruction employed.⁷⁰

Education is meant for prudent purposes, to satisfy the needs of both the individual and the community within which they find themselves. As Robert Hariman writes, prudence addresses “questions regarding the relationship between practical and theoretical knowledge, between cultural norms and more general claims to reason, and between aesthetic criteria and political interests.”⁷¹ In the early twentieth century, Black education was relegated to the industrial arts in part because White folks did not believe in the intellectual merit of a Black liberal education and wanted to maintain the semblance of slavery after 1865.⁷² Rather than resist this notion, Washington *extends* this

argument to justify the deep material needs of Black folks unsatisfied by a liberal education alone. Education, for Washington, is meant to instill the power of theory *and* practice, improve one's quality of life and one's capacity to improve the quality of life for others. Any education that fails to merge a liberal education's theoretical sophistication with technical ability is a waste as it precludes our capacity to serve and enact change in our greater communities. Washington continues:

The study of arithmetic that does not result in making men conscientious in receiving and counting the ballots of their fellow-men is faulty. The study of art that does not result in making the strong less willing to oppress the weak means little. How I wish that from the most cultured and highly endowed university in the great North to the humblest log cabin school-house in Alabama, we could burn, as it were, into the hearts and heads of all that usefulness, that service to our brother, is the supreme end of education.⁷³

Notice Washington's intellectual ju-jitsu. By extending, rather than resisting, the notion of Black industrial education to his White audience, Washington simultaneously creates identification with White donors through his rhetorical address in order to serve a Black educational standard that merges both liberal and technical training. In other words, Washington concurrently builds value for his White donor auditor through his rhetoric, seemingly compromising with social mores, *while* announcing that one primary purpose of Black education is economic *independence* for Black people! Furthermore, Washington reimagines and elevates the position of White life in his rhetorical address, suggesting that the purpose of White life is to be of service to Black people (most notably through donations). Addressing financially well-endowed Northern students and citizens, Washington exclaims that "service to our brothers is the supreme end of education."⁷⁴

Taken together then, Washington's textual corpus including *Up From Slavery*, *The Negro*

in Business, and *The Future of the American Negro*, popular with Northern donors, aligns his mission with White audiences and elevates the promise of Black independence for Black audiences, participating in a double-speak that builds pragmatic value, both social and material, for each group.

In addition, as rhetorical value builder, Washington was an excellent publicist. In 1881, Washington established basic contact with the communities with which he needed support. Washington began Tuskegee first by rhetorically building community and culture within his organization, setting community standards, and after, set about to win the hearts of the Black churches surrounding Tuskegee. Washington believed that by winning over the centers of influence in the Black community, particularly the church, Washington could sensitize the community to his educational efforts. Washington understood that if his efforts were to be of best use, White folks must not be excluded. Indeed, for Washington, White folks were an inseparable component of Black empowerment in the States. In *My Larger Education*, Washington describes William H. Baldwin, Tuskegee's financial overseer to whom Carnegie wrote in 1904 as a White parallel to himself.

He saw with perfect clearness that both races were, to a certain extent, hampered in their struggles upward by conditions which they had inherited and for which neither was wholly responsible. He saw, also, that in the long run the welfare of each was bound up with that of the other. Much as he did for Negro education, he never overlooked an opportunity to get money and secure support for the education of the unfortunate White people of the South.⁷⁵

Washington's rhetorical efforts in *Up from Slavery* and *Tuskegee and its People* again brought incredible donations to Tuskegee and secured Black educational freedom in the face of a hostile, White supremacist South. Washington's demand that each student

at Tuskegee master two trades facilitated student independence and boosted student potential for societal impact. In *Tuskegee and its People*, Washington writes:

Tuskegee Institute teachers are confident that the things taught and enforced by example and precept will justify their efforts in helping to make a dependent people independent, a distracted people confident, and a humble people to thrill with pride in itself and in its best men and women. Thus, it is that Tuskegee Institute has never been satisfied with being merely a school, concerned wholly with its recitations and training in shop and field. Every student who carries a diploma from these grounds is urged not to hang that diploma on the wall as an ornament, as an evidence of individual superiority, but to make it mean something constructive and life-giving to everyone in the community where he must live and work.⁷⁶

Some speculate that Washington's program of action created more self-made millionaires than Harvard, Yale, and Princeton combined.⁷⁷ The parallel opportunities in today's skills-based economy are of import. By demanding that students in the current moment fill their resolve beyond liberal college educations, students learn to become rhetorical value builders for the communities within which they find themselves, complete with the tangible entrepreneurial skill sets to match. Additionally, Washington created the National Negro Business League in Boston in 1900 to support the direct advancement of African American owned businesses. The league predated the United States Chamber of Commerce by 12 years and, following its incorporation in 1901 in New York, established hundreds of chapters throughout the United States. Importantly, the league did not turn away White donations, but profited from them, instead.⁷⁸

Tuskegee was run as a business. William H. Baldwin Jr. was the former General Manager of the Southern Railroad. Baldwin's financial operations expertise reassured donors that each dollar would be effectively maximized.⁷⁹ Additional donors to Tuskegee included Oswald Garrison Villard, Theodore Roosevelt, Grover Cleveland, and Charles

W. Eliot. Further, Washington's lecture circuit, accepted only based on Black needs and Tuskegee, allowed Washington to reach several publics and explain the necessity of Black education to Southern life.⁸⁰ Washington routinely spoke at the National Baptist Convention, the largest Black religious convention of the time. Washington occasionally toured Southern states, speaking to White and Black southerners alike. Washington often invited elite representatives to Tuskegee to display the "racial progress" possible through Black education. These invitations proved to be some of the most important components to Washington's public relations campaigns. "Tuskegee's hospitality" became a popular advertising slogan that visitors spread in their home communities.⁸¹ Washington, himself, would often write letters of appreciation to students, parents, faculty, staff, and any visitor who had rendered service to the Tuskegee in any way. These letters served as powerful mementos and became fuel for continued relations between Tuskegee and White institutions.

The lasting impression which some of these letters made is witnessed by the fact that the late Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, in delivering the Founders Day Address at Tuskegee in 1938, devoted a large portion of his address to discussing a letter of appreciation written 23 years before by Booker T. Washington to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, a former President of the General Education Board.⁸²

Washington strategically sought out and wrote for popular press and print news distributors in order to convey his message to the public. "The Fruits of Industrial Training," one of Washington's cornerstone articles, was written in the popular magazine, *The Atlantic*, in 1910 to fit this end.⁸³ More notably, Washington created a small printing office for the dual purpose of teaching the trade of printing and publishing to his students *and* to begin publishing Tuskegee's promotional content, "The Southern

Letter,” a four-page newsletter published monthly which tracked Tuskegee’s progress, student initiatives, graduate accomplishments and requests for donations. Specifically, “The Southern Letter” was distributed to donors, potential donors, educators, newspapers, and others for the purpose of reaching new constituents and marketing to former givers for subsequent funds. In 1911, for example, 15,048 copies of “The Southern Letter” were distributed to the North.⁸⁴

Washington highlighted student success, always inextricably, if not implicitly, tied with White success. Consider cabbage, a staple of Southern life in 1898, the same year Washington releases this student testimony in “The Southern Letter.”

One of our students, in his commencement oration last May, gave a description of how he planted and raised an acre of cabbage. Piled high upon the platform by his side were some of the largest and finest cabbages that I have ever seen. He told how and where he had obtained the seed; he described his method of preparing and enriching the soil, of working the land, and harvesting the crop; and he summed up by giving the cost of the whole operation. . . . I wish that anyone who does not believe it possible to make a subject like cabbages interesting in a commencement oration could have heard the hearty cheers which greeted the speaker when, at the close of the speech, he held up one of the largest cabbages on the platform for the audience to look at and admire.⁸⁵

Agriculture, while slowly fading as the primary employer in the United States, was still very much important to Northern White folks’ imagination of the economy. Washington’s intentional mention of graduate success not only endeared the university to donors but was eventually acquired as marketing materials by White associations like the Farmers Conference, drawing hundreds of visitors to Tuskegee campus. Notice how Washington captures attention through pragmatic, prudent application. Through practical means, Washington targets a specific population with a message that is already occurring within the population, Washington draws people to the Tuskegee campus where he and

his staff can perform the very solution his rhetorical and promotional material have promised. This is the process of securing value for the auditor. By deeply understanding the deeply felt needs of White audiences, Washington creates a message that directly galvanizes White Northerners to deploy their relational capital and part from their dollars.

Washington's ability to affect timing and dramatize forthcoming events served to bring more attention to Tuskegee. For example, Washington staged activities at Tuskegee in order to impress prominent visitors. When President McKinley agreed to visit the Institute, the White citizens of Tuskegee decorated the town's buildings in honor of the visiting president. Additionally, The Alabama Legislature adjourned for the day and, led by the Governor of Alabama, proceeded to Tuskegee to welcome the Commander in Chief. President McKinley would have seen Black and White southerners working together to beautify the town in anticipation of his arrival, promoting an image of Southern racial uplift to the president and the public.⁸⁶

Taken together, the rhetorical acts accomplished by *Southern Letter* along with the publicity tours, *Up from Slavery*, *The Atlanta Exposition*, and the written letters to individuals, build resonating value with Washington's consumer auditor and secure essential funds for Tuskegee. Such is the work of Washington as rhetorical value builder. Washington's writings, including *My Larger Education*, *The Future of the American Negro*, *Tuskegee and Its People*, and *Up From Slavery*, interpellated a Northern audience.⁸⁷ Washington's brand reputation as a speaker grew so immense that, in 1912, 8000 people attended his speech at the Chicago Sunday Evening Club, and several thousand had to be turned away. It is important to note that most Southerners did not give

directly to Tuskegee. In fact, in 1910 White southerners gave about \$73.20 to the Institute. Black southerners contributed around \$1,203.00 total.⁸⁸ Thus, the bulk of Tuskegee's funding emerged from the North because Washington's message of race economics fit with a model congruent with Northern beliefs.

For this reason, Washington and Tuskegee were forced to move beyond writings, publications, news outlets, and personal appearances. Washington continued to generate value rhetorically, or a common willingness to invest, by training his own solicitors at Tuskegee. Veteran fund-raiser Frank P. Chisholm counseled Washington's salesforce on the wealthiest communities, churches and persons with which to speak. By 1914, Washington spent \$30,336.64 paying his agents' salaries and their expenses, and an additional \$8,134.44 for general publications. In return, Tuskegee "received \$188,506.29 from general and special donations."⁸⁹ Rhetorical value is not always cheap to create, but when done appropriately, the ability to push a message of investment for social advancement can generate and sustain the financial returns that make social change possible. Thus, Washington's salesforce should be thought of as rhetorical activists, working for the common good of racial equity in education and wielding only the power of language. This type of activism, however, is only possible when value to the Northern auditor is effectively communicated and adjusted toward the auditor's needs.

With more generous prospects sensitized to Washington's message through Washington's writings, Washington created a complete dramatized *experience* at Tuskegee to persuade them to part with their monies. For example, Washington

urged them to come to Tuskegee to see for themselves the Washington plan in daily operation. Tuskegee supporters like Mrs. C. L. Byington of

Lockport, New York, who donated a greenhouse to the school and closely followed its progress, yearned 'to see the 1,700 students with such table manners, march into the dining room and stand, while grace is being sung.' Northern visitors were greeted with enthusiasm and accorded fastidious treatment. Visiting widows and spinsters were serenaded with music and song. Married couples awakened to the strains of the Tuskegee brass band. The Alfred T. White family of New York City received a vociferous football-type cheer on their arrival at the area railroad station.⁹⁰

Guests were treated to extended tours Washington's efforts continue. Tuskegee campus life was modeled after the archetypal "productive industrial day" commonly held in the North, complete with six work days and church on Sundays. The institutional framing, adjusted toward the ideals of White Northerners, exacerbated Northern philanthropic donations to the institution. In a time when captains of industry came under attack for labor disputes and by opposing labor unions, Washington opposed labor unions, championed the Protestant work ethic and articulated the power of capital in reforming race relations.⁹¹

In the spring and summer of 1912, Tuskegee deployed two highly successful quartets to the North and the West to represent and secure donations for the school. From New York to California to Connecticut, as many as 500 people attended their performances. According to "The Southern Letter" wealthy benefactors, when too ill to attend, were quietly serenaded in the privacy of their own homes.⁹² In 1912, Washington took care to operationalize the fruits of his rhetorical labor when he began to deploy payment plans that would secure an agreed upon sum annually for five years from donors. In this way, Washington took the uncertainty out of his donor base and increased Tuskegee's sustainability in its fund-raising efforts. Washington also relied on Tuskegee's drama teacher and veteran financial agent Charles Winter Wood to sharpen

the persuasive elements in the sales pitches for Tuskegee's agents, aligned the appearance of the sales agents with the popular quartet and rewrote the campaign literature for all fund-raising efforts. Washington's team had become so adept, by June 1915, when only \$145,000.00 had been raised in the previous three years for a \$245,000 steam heat and power plant at Tuskegee, Washington divided the country into five distinct districts, sent his best salesperson to each district accompanied with only a personal written letter from Washington himself. By the end of the month of June, Tuskegee had raised all but \$5,000.00 of which he and the board of Trustees donated to complete the build for the steam heat power plant at Tuskegee.⁹³

Washington's rhetorical appeals spoke to the inherent capitalist psychosis of American politics and citizens. Northerners, in an era where philanthropic organizations commanded deep public attention, felt doubly encouraged to donate to Tuskegee as they were "investing" in future workers and companies. "No doubt Tuskegee's northern friends were motivated too by their conviction that to help the school financially was tantamount to buying stock in the United States."⁹⁴ Thus, a donation to Tuskegee represented a national donation, one that would ensure that Black folks convert into "assets" for the State, rather than perpetual anchors on the economy. The New York *Tribune*, as a result, called Andrew Carnegie's \$600,000 donation a "helping hand...to the whole nation."⁹⁵

Washington often positions the students as faithful stewards of donor capital. In *Tuskegee and its People*, Washington's writers assure donors of Tuskegee as a safe investment, describing the students as stewards of donor capital:

The many old and time-worn frame buildings are being replaced by finely built and imposing brick and stone structures; the tallow dip and antiquated oil-lamp and gas-jet, as illuminators have paled before the more brilliant White light of electricity, installed by Tuskegee students and operated by them. Patience and faith!- these are Tuskegee's watchwords and her standard virtues. What can not be accomplished to-day will certainly be accomplished to-morrow.⁹⁶

By describing Tuskegee students as patient and diligent workers who self-sustain and optimize campus buildings, Northern donors are assured that Tuskegee is not a money-pit, that a certain pride and respectability accompany Black life at Tuskegee as opposed to other depressed parts of the country. In so doing, Washington's writers pitch Tuskegee as an investment, inherently tied to an increasing return year after year.

In addition, consider how Washington builds into his anecdotal narratives in *The Future of the American Negro* descriptions of the real assets his Tuskegee students have helped establish. Through his *dairying* example, Washington not only signals his own depth of knowledge as a Chief Executive Operator, but also demonstrates the way in which learned Black minds and hands can generate economic value for the American economy. Washington writes:

Some years ago, we noted the fact, for example, that there was quite a movement in many parts of the South to organize and start dairies. Soon after this, we opened a dairy school where a number of young men could receive training in the best and most scientific methods of dairying. At present we have calls, mainly from Southern White men, for twice as many dairymen as we are able to supply. The reports indicate that our young men are giving the highest satisfaction and are fast changing and improving the dairy product in the communities where they labor.⁹⁷

Beyond a call for Black folks to serve Whites as mere laborers, Washington is articulating a vision of an integrated economy. His goal is to produce a system whereby Black folk function as *perceived* assets in the broader American economy rather than as *perceived* liabilities. In *Up from Slavery*, Washington describes Tuskegee's capacity to

improve dairy methods for the broader public practices. In an exhibition to President McKinley, Washington displays the “old method of dairying in contrast with the new methods,”⁹⁸ signaling to his reader that Tuskegee is more than a school, it is an engine, a think-tank for Southern, and thus national, economic surplus. Washington depicts Tuskegee as a solution to the much-needed economic revitalization of the American South following the Civil War. By speaking to the deep exigencies of financial indolence and solvency, Washington is able to establish Tuskegee donations as morally appropriate *and* as a necessary investment to the Southern economy.

As Washington describes, “men who produce something that makes the White man partly dependent upon the Negro instead of all the dependence being on the other side” is a change for the better in the relations, economic and otherwise, between White and Blacks.⁹⁹ Tuskegee, then, becomes the site for the transformation of Black people into producers of economic surplus and national assets.

Importantly, as a direct result of Washington’s rhetoric that spoke to the inherent capitalist psychosis of American politics and due to the actual founding of Tuskegee Normal, Washington became advisor to several U.S. presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, dining as a guest with Roosevelt October 16, 1901.¹⁰⁰ Washington’s message of racial progress through the economic inner stitching of America won Roosevelt’s affections and encouragement. After Washington’s death, Roosevelt prefaced Washington’s biography in this way:

Eminent through his services were to the people of his own color, the White men of our Republic were almost as much indebted to him, both directly and indirectly. They were indebted to him directly, because of the work he did on behalf of industrial education for the Negro, thus giving

impetus to the work for the industrial education of the White Man. . . . every successful effort to turn the thoughts of the natural leaders of the Negro race into the fields of business endeavor. . . is not only to their advantage butt to the advantage of the White Man, as tending to remove the friction and trouble that inevitably come throughout the South at this time in any Negro district where the Negroes turn for their advancement primarily to political life.¹⁰¹

Washington's legacy is a social entrepreneurial one. Washington planned out his campaigns. When Harvard President Charles William Eliot gave a commencement speech at Tuskegee in 1906, he told attendees that it took 200 years for Harvard University to acquire the same level of land, reserve capital, usable buildings, and resources that Tuskegee gathered in 25 years.¹⁰² Washington's influence stretched through public educators for generations, providing learning and economic opportunities for tens of thousands of Black folks directly. Washington created value in order to sell people on the presence of the Tuskegee. Were it not for Washington's ability to build and establish, through language, a common, practical image of racial progress, it is unlikely Tuskegee would exist as an institution in the modern era.

In 34 years, Booker T. Washington succeeded in starting a school single-handed, with 30 pupils and \$2,000 annually 'for teachers' salaries'; building an international reputation as an educator and creator of a unique formula in race relations; and leaving at his death new horizons of progress for his people, a school plant valued at \$1,500,000 an endowment of \$1,900,000 a faculty of 197, and student enrollment of 1,500. Without public relations institutions to supplement, enhance and enrich the Founder's ability, patience and persistence, the 'Normal School for Colored Teachers at Tuskegee,' established in 1881, would probably have been at the close of his career just another 'small Negro school' located in Macon County, Alabama.¹⁰³

Indeed, Washington's entire image of education participates in a rhetorical double-speak. To White folks, Washington paints a picture of a successful integrated

economy, to Blacks, Washington defines what education is meant to make available.

Washington writes:

Education is meant to make us give satisfaction and to get satisfaction out of giving it. It is meant to make us get happiness out of service for our fellows. And until we get to the point where we can get happiness and supreme satisfaction out of helping our fellows, we are not truly educated. . . . Education is meant to make us appreciate the things that are beautiful in nature. A person is never educated until he is able to go into the swamps and woods and see something that is beautiful in the trees and shrubs there- is able to see something beautiful in the grass and flowers that surround him- is, in short, able to see something beautiful, elevating, and inspiring in everything that God has created. Not only should education enable us to see beauty in these objects which God has put about us, but it is meant to influence us to bring beautiful objects about us.¹⁰⁴

In this passage, Washington douses the racial tension for his White auditor by asserting that the mutual exchange of value is the focal point for happiness in society. For his Black auditor, particularly those of the liberal elite, Washington creates identification. Education is both meant to supply a liberal, artful, and purposeful sense of direction to life *and* to help us materially impact and influence our circumstances, situations, lifestyles, and communities. In this way, Washington builds value expressly for his White auditor and tacitly for his Black audiences, asserting a certain force on public consciousness, backed by donor dollars, regarding the role of education for Black people. I now turn, momentarily, to discuss further the way in which Washington functions as a rhetorical value builder for his tacit audience: Black folks.

Escaping Debt Peonage: Washington as Rhetorical Value Builder for Black Folks

While often neglected by scholars like Vivian, Varda, Reed Jr., and Dubois, who claim Washington as accommodationist, Washington not only rhetorically builds value for White folks on behalf of Blacks, but tacitly provides phronetic strategies of Black empowerment and resistance to Blacks in his writings. The central confusion regarding Washington's legacy is based around the notion of "ownership." Twentieth century and modern writers have overlooked Washington's desire for Black economic independence. Within the Orientation of Markets, "debt" is a locus of control, where the debtor is caught up in an asymmetrical link with the creditor. Debt is a rhetorical tactic used to cultivate a sense of "owing" to the dominant society and always a sense of obligation to the market system. What else can people do but go to work in buildings that other people own for one-tenth of the value they generate daily all to generate profits through taxation for the corporate state? The implementation of debt constructs a new somatic reality, one in which the person is always striving for the symbols of exchange, monetary capital, for their actual, material independence and survival.

Washington suggests a method of Black empowerment and resistance through his anecdotal expression of Tuskegee success stories: 1) Secure economic relationships that allow for the procurement of resources, including land. 2) Practice intracommunity and family economic cooperation in order to allocate resources to the purchase of assets. 3) Counterintuitively use debt to purchase assets in order to become economically independent and free of debt. Washington calls Black folks in the South to recognize the general economic tenure of the county. An over-reliance on cotton productive leaves

Southern cotton workers underpaid and underemployed. Only actual revenue generating skills of production in the market place will be useful here. Notice how Washington speaks to the direct needs of the state in order to make a plea for the absolution of Black debt:

So long as the Negro is ignorant in head, unskilled in hand, unacquainted with labor-saving machinery, so long will he confine himself to a single crop, and over-production of cotton will result...Every man, Black and White in the South, with his crop mortgaged, in debt at the end of the year, buying his meat from Illinois, his corn from Iowa, his shoes from New York, his clothing from Pennsylvania, his wagons from Indiana, his plow from Massachusetts, his mule from Missouri, his coffin from Ohio, - everyone who is thus situated, is a citizen who is not producing the highest results for the state.¹⁰⁵

The outsourcing of labor, reminiscent of the international outsourcing that accompanies the “neo-liberal” era, creates an opportunity for the exploitation of Black labor through debt. Washington argued that Black folks must invest in business training, skill, and machine outsourcing if they are to adapt successfully and free themselves from debt peonage.

Notice how Washington offers Black folks a way out of the symbolic confines of the debtor in his mass-produced publications. Offering success stories of Tuskegee students as example, Washington suggests a way for Black folks to absolve themselves the debt-guilt. Describing one, unnamed, Black student from Tuskegee, Washington paints the general scene for indebted Black sharecroppers in the South:

Having finished his course at Tuskegee, he returned to his plantation home, which was in a country where the colored people outnumbered the Whites six to one, as is true of many of the counties in the Black Belt of the South. He found the Negroes in debt. Ever since the war they had been mortgaging their crops for the food on which to live while the crops were growing. The majority of them were living from hand-to-mouth on rented

land, in small one-room log cabins, and attempting to pay a rate of interest on their advances that ranged from fifteen to forty per cent. per anum.¹⁰⁶ Here, Washington describes a quite common phenomenon in the American twentieth century South.¹⁰⁷ Black families knew the pain and struggle of being re-positioned under White economic control through debt. As Joe Feagin writes, after the “end” of slavery in 1865 and up through 1960, the semi-slavery institution of southern Black debt peonage ruled. William Harris writes that the refusal of Whites to allow Blacks to buy land resulted in unfair leasing agreements that nevertheless kept Blacks tied to White property as had been true during slavery.¹⁰⁸ If agriculture is the primary field in which Black folks are allowed to spend their time, being kept from the purchase of property only to be re-enslaved through debt is a problem. Washington is keenly aware. The Tuskegee founder understands that where White folks keep Blacks from purchasing Southern land, relationships, particularly ones of economic benefit to Whites, can help Blacks purchase land. In Washington’s own case, donors supplied land resources to Tuskegee for buildings, carpentry and farming purposes.¹⁰⁹ Continuing his narrative of his Tuskegee student-hero, Washington writes:

He took the three months' public school as a nucleus for his work. Then he organized the older people into a club, or conference, that held meetings every week. In these meetings he taught the people, in a plain, simple manner, how to save their money, how to farm in a better way, how to sacrifice, - to live on bread and potatoes, if necessary, till they could get out of debt, and begin the buying of lands.

Washington’s Tuskegee hero engages in a collective deliberation with his community members regarding finance in much the way Claude Anderson argues Black folks participate in *group economics*.¹¹⁰ However, Washington offers an additional suggestion beyond a staunch “buy-Black” initiative:

Soon a large proportion of the people were in a condition to make contracts for the buying of homes (land is very cheap in the South) and to live without mortgaging their crops. Not only this; under the guidance and leadership of this teacher, the first year that he was among them they learned how and built, by contributions in money and labor, a neat, comfortable school-house that replaced the wreck of a log cabin formerly used.¹¹¹

Washington is clear that outside contributions are necessary for successful build outs. Due to his ability to speak to the deep needs of and create identification with his White Northern population, Washington secures monetary awards for Tuskegee and implies that Blacks everywhere can do the same. He understands that relationships based upon economic terms are easier to justify to White folks under the spell of the capitalist psychosis. Tactically, Washington suggests that Black folks do not mortgage crops, but mortgage lands instead. An individual White person will understand the benefit of residual income from a business, then from an always precarious crop yield. In *The Negro in Business*, Washington writes about Reverend H.W. Key of Nashville, who began his farming business first by leasing land, accumulating capital, then purchasing 75 acres “and since then has gradually increased his holdings until he now possesses 360 acres, valued at \$25,000, unmortgaged and unencumbered.”¹¹²

Or, consider the Reid brothers who were sent to Tuskegee by their father, a sharecropper. Upon returning, the Reid brothers did what most Blacks in the South had been doing, they leased lands from White folks. However, given their transformation at Tuskegee, Washington implies, they were able to reallocate their debt into surplus, unmortgaged profits. The Reid brothers “leased 480 acres more on long time and subsequently added to that by purchase of 605 acres.”¹¹³ This is important. “On long time” means an extended rental agreement, with lower monthly and installment payments

that enable the store or reallocation of otherwise extended funds. Given the limited capital necessary to maintain the extended rental agreement, the brothers reallocated their dollars to the purchase of additional lands. The father had already leased 1,100 acres and worked the land for years. The brothers combined and sub-let the total acreage in order to fund the build out of a “store, a cotton gin, blacksmith shop, and a grist mill” that they could use to generate additional capital for their family and their communities.¹¹⁴ These brothers absolved themselves of the symbolic peonage of “owing” by sub-leasing their land to tenants. By 1904, they had become completely debt-free, “they paid out \$5,000 covering debts on land, fertilizers, and money borrowed with which to carry their thirty tenants.”¹¹⁵ The Reid brothers also retained non-monetary capital like horses, mules, and cattle with which to produce goods or lease to others for additional gains.

Or, consider Mr. Calhoun who Washington describes as a man who built a industrial education school similar to Tuskegee through donations. Mr. Calhoun received Northern donations from land owners like Robert Hungford and Geo B. Childs to build a school. Mr. Calhoun’s school, according to Washington owns over 280 acres of land, operated by the students. In exchange for working the land as is required by their education, students are able to earn credits that help them fund and facilitate their own scholarships. The students cultivate assets that generate a profitable rate of return for low investment:

The products of the farm, dairy, and poultry yard are used by the commissary of the school and assist materially in keeping down expenses. The school has now six teachers, of who three are graduates of Tuskegee.¹¹⁶

By understanding the deep needs of the Northern auditor and establishing economic relationships, Mr. Calhoun can produce a Black epicenter for the development and expression of Black education. Washington and Tuskegee, by extension, are positioned here as representative models for empowerment and development. Tacitly, Washington suggests to his Black audience that the opportunity to Black empowerment and resistance is through the logics of White capital, not only against.

Vivian, Varda, Mallveaux, Bond, and others fail to appreciate the power of purchasing and building assets, focused too heavily on the system of oppression that mitigates Black equity and access and too lightly on the capitalist psychosis that interjects a language of markets and money throughout public life, serving as the basis of racial superiority, not against. People, even White supremacists, are willing to secure resources for Black folks when their deep economic desires are appropriately gauged and goaded. We do well to remember that the system of American slavery was a primarily economic system over and against a purely egoic or superficial system. The sense of fear and scarcity endemic to The Orientation of Markets that birthed American slavery still exists and its wielders can be persuaded based on economic surplus just as they could in the seventeenth century. Washington rhetorically builds value for his Black audience by addressing the actual situations in which Black Southerners find themselves and speaking to the deep need of freedom, including the freedom from debt. Washington suggests an escape from the state of debt peonage by articulating a program of relationship building and deal-making with White land holders and asset accumulation for Blacks.

Conclusion

In and through twentieth century scholarship, Washington's message has been misinterpreted. However, scholars do well to remember that Washington is speaking at a time when the slightest breach of the racial contract could mean death for Washington.¹¹⁷ While Washington is labeled a compromiser to White folks, it is important to note that Washington is more than a mere compromiser, viewed as threatening to many White southerners, Washington demands that Blacks begin their own businesses, commit to working in and with African nations, and privately helps Dubois file a federal suit against Southern segregation on the railways.¹¹⁸ Washington's legacy and program for Black empowerment are complex and contested. It remains important to investigate Washington's rhetorical corpus for ways forward in Black political life as Washington illuminates the ways in which the monetary motive configures symbolic equations of wealth and helps us rethink the resources for Black empowerment in the modern age.

Scholarship around Washington highlights the central confusion regarding race and Capital accumulation in modern scholarly conversations. In Washington we find an individual with a prominent legacy of accumulating wealth for the benefit of Black students through the Tuskegee Institute. We also find a history of scholarly discourse around Washington's legacy that indicates more about who we think we are, where we think we are and how we envision the future more than anything about Washington himself. For this reason, scholars studying Washington's legacy must also identify the fissures in the analysis of his scholarly contemporaries and posterities. Such an analysis indicates a lack of awareness in finance, economics, and terms of wealth we speak every

day in discussion of gentrification, integration, and politics. While scholars have produced notions of group or cooperative economics to redefine the modern economic system in more communal and egalitarian terms,¹¹⁹ few have ever articulated how to manipulate the logics of capital to serve Black interests or how to assess the calculus of wealth implied in the terms “gentrification,” “integration,” “vote Democrat,” “liberal education,” and “public school.” Washington, by contrasts, signals attention to the symbolic force of dollars, rather than to new economic models writ large. While the latter remain important to develop, they will take time to enact fully as Dubois wrote about the need for them nearly 100 years ago. Washington’s program of action, however, provides a way to both act in the here and now, accumulate resources for the Black community and resist the funnels of oppression made prominent within a system of White supremacy via a tremendous resource: Black entrepreneurship. For this reason, Washington’s attention to the monetary language must not be overlooked. We ought to pay attention to the ways in which monetary symbols and language structure and empower modes of thinking, feeling and action in Black social life.

Washington never loses sight that the importance of raising capital is to help people live better lives, and not merely to justify a profit.¹²⁰ Washington aimed to cultivate spiritual, political, and liberal development after an appropriate economic foundation was set. He writes:

The Tuskegee Idea always asks one question, and that is, "What are you?" and not, "What have you?" The man who does not rise superior to his possessions does not measure up to the Tuskegee idea of manhood.¹²¹

To do this, Washington takes the time to understand his auditor, the White Northern wealthy male, to whom he deployed so much energy, enthusiasm and actions to produce for Tuskegee. Washington's ability to call forth this audience through his writings in *Up from Slavery*, draw wealthy donors in through dramatized performances on Tuskegee campus grounds, and develop a salesforce that could disseminate Washington's version of Black education are examples of rhetorical value building. Each of these activities is accomplished in and through language and are conducted on behalf of a common good for the public.

Washington responds to intense racial antagonism, a world run by strict market logics, and a world where Black life is devalued by the State with rhetorical appeals to industry. Building, through rhetorical assets, the organizations that could realize, in no small measure, the racialized changes Washington wished to see in the world. In the current moment, the ability to create sustainable organizations, networks of communities and individuals to facilitate ease of access to resources for the collective good is a pragmatic way to address inequity after marches and street protest. I am not making the argument for more non-profit organizations. Instead, I argue that by understanding and speaking directly to the needs of the consumer auditor, we can intervene in pre-established or create new markets that directly satisfies the needs of the various publics to whom we are responsible.

The question I turn to next is: Specifically, how has Washington rhetorically sutured his message to White ideology and conceptions of freedom? Drawing upon the work of McGee, Burke, and others,¹²² I turn now to handle this question.

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³ Pero Gaglo Dagbovie. "Exploring a Century of Historical Scholarship on Booker T. Washington." *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (2007): 239-264.

⁴ Bradford J. Vivian. "Up from Memory: Epideictic Forgetting in Booker T. Washington's Cotton States Exposition Address." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 45, no. 2 (2012): 192.

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⁹ Reed Jr. "What Are the Drums?" 32.

¹⁰ Malveaux. "The Niagara." 2005.

¹¹ Verney. *The Art of the Possible*. 2013.

¹² Du Bois. "The Souls of Black Folk (1903).

¹³Merle Eugene Curti. "The Social Ideas of American Educators with New Chapter on the Last Twenty-five Years." (1935): 303.

¹⁴ Reed Jr. "What Are the Drums?" 33

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¹⁶ Reed Jr. "What Are the Drums?" 36.

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²⁰ Newman. "Cotton Expositions in Atlanta." Par 3.

²¹ Newman. "Cotton Expositions in Atlanta."

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²³ Stob. "Black Hands Push Back." 155.

²⁴ Stob. "Black Hands Push Back." 154.

²⁵ Stob. "Black Hands Push Back." 154.

²⁶ Stob. "Black Hands Push Back." 154.

²⁷ Robert Jefferson Norrell. *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Harvard University Press, 2009.

²⁸ Kenneth Burke. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Univ of California Press, 1984.

²⁹ Booker T. Washington. "The Atlanta Compromise." In *Cotton States and International Exposition, September*, pp. 1856-1901. 1895: 1.

³⁰ Washington. "The Atlanta Compromise." 1.

³¹ Washington. "The Atlanta Compromise." 1.

³² Du Bois. "Of Booker T. Washington." 34-45; Donald Spivey. *Schooling For the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915*. No. 38. ABC-CLIO, 1978; Reed Jr.

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Vivian. "Up from Memory." 189-212.

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- ³⁸ James D. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1988.
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CHAPTER 4: <Freedom> and Rhetorical Transformation in *The Negro in Business and Beyond*

The Orientation of Markets is ultimately dependent on a White desire for security and freedom. Beyond wayward wanderers of the feudal era, twentieth century White folks required a sense of economic security and believed, given their public orientation, that markets were the best path to satisfying their deep needs. American policy, authorized in the name of freedom, pursues freedom in and through markets. When freedom is conflated with market freedom, it becomes obvious why organizations like the American Exchange Legislative Council that bring business and political leaders together to help determine public policy: to ensure that business life is easily facilitated in legislation. In addition, it becomes obvious why corporations can financially support political campaigns as individuals: In order to support those candidates who will uphold the definition of freedom as convenient for markets. The credibility of business tycoon Donald Trump for president can be understood as the election of a businessman who can help small business owners stay alive and secure jobs. The notion that business leaders understand freedom best is prominent in the public imagination. However, while most conservatives would resist the notion of eminent domain laws- the confiscation of private land for government use and purpose, business leaders like Trump rely on these same laws in order to advance their business practices. Trump depends:

on eminent domain so that homes and small businesses in areas they want to develop can be taken by eminent domain for the sake of their development plans. All they have to do is get local government officials to go along, with campaign contributions and the promise of an increase in local tax dollars helping to acquire eminent domain rights. Trump points

to Atlantic City, where he build his casino using eminent domain to get the property.¹

When freedom, legitimized by the corporate state, is equated with markets, the public is confused into believing that their representatives will serve them *because* of their business experience. Often the deleterious effects of free market capitalism are most heavy on people without assets, on the marginalized, particularly Black folks. Such is the modern manifestation of the public Orientation of Markets. The blind pursuit of autonomy, self-determination through markets has left the public blind to an obfuscated definition of freedom that structures their beliefs. In this chapter, I demonstrate how Booker T. Washington phronetically troubles the symbolic linkages of freedom in order to procure equitable rewards for Black people. In so doing, Washington demonstrates that markets are not the obstacle, but sites of resistance.

WASHINGTON'S IDEOGRAPH

Washington's 1903 work, "Fruits of Industrial Training" originally published in *The Atlantic*, but later republished in the successful 1906 book *The Negro in Business*,² helps us identify Washington's overall strategy for speaking to the deep needs of his White auditor. In addition, through the ideograph of <freedom> we find in Washington specific rhetorical value building strategies for transforming the symbolic associations of Blackness and servitude. How can rhetors align deeply held motives with new or even oppositional artifacts of Blackness? By tapping into the political language that manifests ideology, the ideograph. The goal of this chapter is to identify the way in which Washington phronetically hacks the ideograph of freedom to create a pragmatic

association of Blackness with freedom. Washington manipulates <freedom> in order to argue that business and rhetorical intervention in markets is a necessary part of resistance and empowerment projects moving forward. Ideographs are taken up here as they highlight the link between phronetic practice, freedom and the Orientation of Markets. In addition, <freedom> as Washington articulates, yokes us with an emerging Black tradition of empowerment and resistance in the modern setting. The ideograph, single word slogans that link ideology to language,³ is the phronetic link between Washington's Black empowerment campaign, constituted by a rhetorical intervention in markets, and the current moment.

I turn now to confine the way in which Washington functions as a rhetorical value builder for his White consumer auditor. Here, I demonstrate how Washington's focus on the ideograph of <freedom> prepares his audience to accept the public plausibility of Black education and of Black business. In addition, the goal of this chapter is to articulate the ways in which Booker T. Washington's economic focus in his 1906 writing, *The Negro in Business* can be read as politically reformatory.⁴ Through a White, Western, and mainstream interpretation of the ideograph of <freedom>, I articulate Washington's focus on Black control of resources constitutes a political strategy for economic enfranchisement for the White and Black South via three rhetorical means: First, Washington identifies the pathway to business and industry as more relevant to Black freedom than mere voting rights and legislation. Secondly, Washington constructs a supportive White audience using "already-present" language, interpellating a White auditor in pursuit of mutual <freedom> along with Blacks. Finally, Washington proposes

a political strategy of unification between the White North and South, interracially and across territories through economic solutions. Taken together then, Washington's rhetorical performance in *The Negro in Business* galvanizes his White and Black audiences to donate to Tuskegee and provides a possible pathway for coping with neoliberal State hegemony in the current moment by focusing on and stretching beyond conceptions of <freedom>.

By the twentieth century, Washington is a visionary anticipating the conflation of capital and freedom that constitutes the modern corporate state. Washington speaks to the deep need of his audience and links White security with Black equity through a common, mythic imagination of self-determination. Through the tacit ideograph of <freedom>, Washington suggests that the pathway to political enfranchisement is constituted by control over resources, rather than mere adherence to minimalist democratic participation. Where dollars are salvation and freedom, the ideograph of <freedom> best represents the capitalist psychosis and the Orientation of Markets as <freedom> comes through markets. For Washington, the dominant logic in the United States is economic, thus, market participation usurps the logic of the demos.

As I have addressed in the previous chapter, Booker T. Washington's legacy is remembered largely as one of White accommodation.⁵ What scholars overlook is the reality that the prospect of forging an interracial labor alliance in early twentieth century America, particularly in the South, was dubious at best. As David Roediger makes clear, in the early twentieth century, "White workers could, and did, define and accept their class positions by fashioning identities as 'not slaves' and as 'not Blacks.'"⁶ Indeed,

when it comes to early labor unions, Black American members were often excluded. Particularly for those individuals made White, like the Irish, in the 19-twentieth century, “Irish workers responded that they wanted an ‘all-White waterfront, rid of Blacks altogether, and not to ‘jostle with’ African Americans. They thought that, to ensure their own survival, they needed as much.”⁷ I argue that Washington is keenly aware of the difficulty in promoting interracial alliances given the way in which Blackness was positioned with slavery and against freedom. In his speeches and writings, Washington enacts the American ideograph of freedom, or <freedom>, to bridge the gulf between Black and White economic and material access. Washington’s rhetorical invention assesses and addresses a guiding economic logic that pervades American politics and ultimately supersedes logics of the demos. Washington suggests that if Whites and Blacks are to achieve any sort of collective liberation, it will be through conceptions of the American ideograph of <freedom>, realized through markets, not against them. As I have covered previously the American conception of freedom is not as much American as it is European and a direct consequence of 1,500-year struggle with famine and the end of Euro-Feudalism. It is within this context and historical backdrop that Washington speaks.

Consistent with other scholars, I argue that there is more to Washington than traditionally considered. For example, Frederick E. Drinker argues that Washington’s program of action was radically potent in the early twentieth century.⁸ Harold Cruse argues that Booker T. Washington is a central figure in early traditions of Black Nationalism. For Cruse, the Black Power movement of the 1960s-70s was an extension

of Washingtonian rhetoric: “Black Power is militant Booker T. –ism.”⁹ In other words, Washington’s emphasis on self-help, Black advancement and property ownership are central themes that reappear in later iterations of Black political thought, particularly the Black Power movement.¹⁰ Scholars do well to remember that was viewed as threatening to many White southerners. Washington was a recalcitrant Black activists, demanding that Blacks begin their own businesses, commit to working in and with African nations, and privately helping Dubois file a federal suit against Southern segregation on the railways.¹¹ Washington’s legacy and program for Black empowerment are complex and contested. I illuminate the ways in which Washington’s rhetoric helps us rethink Black empowerment and serves as equipment for living in the modern age. In the process, I rethink Booker T. Washington’s rhetoric, suggesting that the rhetorical strategies constituted within *The Negro in Business* provide instruction for emancipation within the Corporate State by aligning Black empowerment with the deep symbolic needs of his White consumer auditor.

<Freedom> and Economic Control

McGee argues that ideographs serve as political language which manifests ideology. To analyze ideographic structures is to reveal the patterns of political consciousness which can control “power” and influence subjective reality.¹² Ideographs, single word slogans, serve as the building blocks to the political language of ideology. Ideographs are “preserved in rhetorical documents, with capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior.”¹³ We are conditioned to believe that the ideographs

that constitute our basic beliefs have a natural and unassailable meaning. The ideograph of property, or <property>, is always obvious to an American public. Notions about the importance of the individual, ownership and claims over natural resources are always-already included and unquestioned within <property>. All ideographs contain a unique ideological commitment. In other words, “Ideographs are the link between rhetoric and ideology, vehicles through which ideologies or unconsciously shared idea systems that organize consent to a particular social system become rhetorically effective.”¹⁴

Ideographs are social and stretch across time. They have meaning insofar as they are believable and commonly shared, as in when a child learns <freedom> and <patriotism> during the constant retelling of the story of Patrick Henry.¹⁵ Therefore, in order to understand ideographic content, we must look to diachronic, or the historical and contemporary context in which the ideograph is used.

Ideographs of <freedom> have been understood in particular ways in the American context. Casey Ryan Kelly argues that <freedom> as ideograph has been linked with individualism and private ownership.¹⁶ As a result, <freedom> is unsuitable to Native American definitions of community and identity. <Freedom>, according to Western ideology, is enacted through one’s labor power and personal initiative. In this way, the ideograph functions to structure and condition the public toward the dominant ideology of classical liberalism. Booker T. Washington understands this interpretation of <freedom> and the market logic that undergirds it. For Washington, if <freedom> is commonly held to be constituted by market participation, control over land, and resources, then thinking and action in the United States will continue to privilege those

persons who demonstrate market intervention and control over land and resources. Is it any wonder that “sophisticated investor” laws currently in place require assets of one million dollars before individuals can participate in low risk, high yield investments like Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs)? Is it any wonder why major drivers of markets, large scale corporations, own land and control resources and are legally considered individuals? Such is the inevitable windfall when <freedom> is defined by economic logics over logics of the demos.

As Kelly argues, in a capitalist rhetoric, <freedom> effectively structures adherence to free markets when used with <individualism> or <private property>.¹⁷ I argue that Washington’s <freedom> is consistent with a capitalist rhetoric and exists alongside <individualism> and <private property> within a corporate model of government. Both the dominant and the marginalized often share an investment in defining the same ideography but diverge over meaning. For African Americans, particularly for individuals like Dubois, <freedom> comes to mean political participation which includes economic enfranchisement. Duboisian <freedom> means the ability to participate out and away from White American tyranny.¹⁸ By contrast, Washington argues that individual economic liberation is a precondition for political liberation and a precondition for <freedom>. While Washington does not place the individual over the collective good, his rhetorical evaluation is possible because of the common American ideographic link that places individual value over the common wealth. Kelly argues that Native American youth rhetors attempt to redefine <freedom> in order to secure goals: Indian reform following the traditional definition of <freedom> centered on the belief

that Indians would be free when the government stopped “paternalistically” supporting Indian reservations.¹⁹ As Bryan McCann writes, ideographs must be linked to broader structural realities if they are to become powerful and persuade dominant society. It is not enough for dissenters to have an emotional response to social inequity, but those dissenters must also do the rhetorical work of hitching their ideographic content to the handlebars of dominant discourse. In regard to capitalism directly, McCann argues that the failure to appropriately wield ideographic messages for the pursuit of justice does a disservice to the overlapping forms of “oppression that maintain capitalism’s structures of exploitation.”²⁰ By broadening the term <victim> to include those harmed by the death penalty, McCann argues that abolitionist and dissenters can create a common form of resistance that turns the <victim> ideograph back on the very institutions that use it in order to justify oppression.

An abolitionist movement that recognizes the ways in which the death penalty works against the shared material interests of ordinary people is a movement powerful in its capacity to address the origins of criminality in a Capitalist society.²¹ It is for this reason, that Washington’s use of <freedom> to build alignment with White folks on behalf of Blacks is so instructive.

As Celeste Condit and John Lucaites write, ideographs can be redefined, with limitations, in response to new exigencies and inventive strategies of rhetors. Citing Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X as examples of Black Americans constructing new emancipatory conceptions of cultural <equality>, Condit and Lucaites demonstrate how ideographs are malleable. For X, <equality> was defined by two separate but equally powerful entities living in proximity. X could not admit to the presence of American

equality as long as African Americans were consistently weakened by White supremacist strategies and manipulation. X did not believe that Black people had their own communities, but saw Black communities as being remotely controlled by White systems of power. Alternatively, for King, according to Condit and Lucaites, <equality> meant an identical sameness between two, interchangeable parts. Thus, an integration strategy could be reasonably executed provided Whites and Blacks could share facilities and power positions. King's culturetypal rhetoric, or rhetoric already consistent with dominant ideology, was helpful in getting Whites to receive it. For example, King used the Bible's definition of "generic man" in order to infer that Blacks and Whites were created by one Creator, and therefore, essentially the same.²²

Not all ideographs are easily manipulated, however. Condit and Lucaites argue that ideographs have definite rhetorical limitations, dependent on their prior historical use and the particular ideology they support. Thus, *Plessy v. Ferguson* was not simply a racist ruling, it was the most progressive ruling a dominant White culture could allow given the synchronic definition, or the concern for language as it exists at a single point in time, of <equality>. Additionally, Catherine Langford argues that law and policy crystallizes ideographs and ideology in dominant ways. Langford studies the contested rights of women in abortion law. Life for <person>, according to the fourteenth amendment, begins at birth. Therefore, the right to terminate a pregnancy is legally and ideographically sanctioned before delivery. However, constitutive legal texts like the 2010 Sanctity of Human Life Act constructs <person> as alive at conception with opposite implications. According to Langford, when leaders like Paul Ryan state, "we

cannot play God,” ideology is given a public face, and the public is goaded into evaluating Ryan as reasonable and morally appropriate given the conservative definition of <person>.²³ Further, <person> when codified by law, is much more difficult to contest as the ideograph becomes more difficult to formally change.

For Washington, <freedom> is clearly and rigidly codified in the U.S. Constitution and in the Emancipation Proclamation, and therefore has definite rhetorical constraints. To be rhetorically effective, then, Washington uses the most readily available conception of <freedom>. For example, the precursor to the proclamation makes promises to compensate individuals for the loss of slaves, suggesting that an impetus to placate the loss of capital must coincide with corporeal release of slaves. From the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation given September 22, 1865:

And the executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States, and their respective States, and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.²⁴

In the White imagination, <freedom> has always been bound to property and capital, hailing a Lockean discourse of individualism, the foundation for classical liberalism. Aware of this, Washington beckons us to gain entry by working *within* the rhetorical culture constituted by the long-standing Orientation of Markets instantiated in the corporate state. Rojhat Avsar argues that the way in which people think about economic ideographs will determine the kinds of choices and decisions a people or group can make possible.²⁵ If <freedom> means individual productivity, the accrual of land, the

amalgamation of textiles and capital, then the very possibility for thinking differently will be contingent on redefining the relationship between humans and material assets.

<Freedom>, Phronesis and the Orientation of Markets

As Calvin Coker argues, “An ideograph exists within a specific political conversation, as a facet of a given debate, but also within a broader historical context that constrains the meanings that can be assigned.”²⁶ Thus, we can understand <freedom> as holding nuanced, contemporary meanings and as historically defined by prior orientations, most notably, *The Orientation of Markets*. Indeed, Jason Black tells the importance of the past for rhetorical critics, every time we look to uncover the various meanings of an ideograph, we must look to the broader historical background that constrains ideographic meaning.²⁷ It is for this reason that *The Orientation of Markets* is so useful for understanding <freedom>. *The Orientation of Markets* is bound and based on an image of scarcity, a generalized fear of massive agricultural famine in the European feudal age, creating the space for the rising prominence of the merchant class. In a larger play for material security, or freedom from hunger, want, and disease, Europeans recapitulated the world into non-human assets deployable for the pursuit of surplus. We can understand <freedom> in the current moment as bound to capital and markets precisely because of the deep-seated public *Orientation of Markets* honed from the habituated actions of the State. Ideographs are found both within a synchronically and diachronically. As such, Washington 1906 *The Negro in Business* represents one nodal point in the diachronic legacy of a market oriented Black empowerment campaign.

The ideograph of <freedom> is the phronetic link between Washington's Black empowerment campaign, constituted by a rhetorical intervention in markets, and the current moment. In our modern time, it is difficult for any public to be separate from market influence and market participation. Given the capitalist psychosis, the power of consumer dollars on corporate authority and politics, it is important to understand that every public is tied with various sets of markets. Every person is a consumer auditor, with economic and material values actualized in markets. By adjusting his message to the ideograph of <freedom>, Washington simultaneously adjusts his message to his White consumer auditor, communicating their own perception of "value" back to them. In other words, Washington enters the conversation his audience is already having with itself about race, freedom, the southern economy and their own future. This rhetorical value-centered approach to persuading audiences, demonstrated poignantly by the ideograph of <freedom>, sensitizes Washington's audience to his message of Black equity, education and training all without a single protest march. The Southern conversation takes place in and around <freedom>, thus, it is to this reason that Washington speaks. By stepping into the rhetorical value-centered approach, by becoming rhetorical value builders in our present markets, circumstances and situations, we phronetically take on a project of resistance already having tremendous momentum.

Prudence, according to Thomas Farrell, requires that we deliberate within the terms our rhetorical culture understands and uses. <Freedom> is one such term. In Washington's case, it is an act of phronesis to adjust White <freedom> to Black people. In so doing, Washington builds a case for Black equity in a way that resist the historical

dehumanization of Black people by the State. According to Kirt Wilson, <slavery> has been a key ideograph since the American Revolution. “Although most scholars have focused on terms like liberty and property, slavery played a crucial role in revolutionary rhetoric.”²⁸ <Freedom>, while unstated in Wilson’s analysis, is the pursuit of material property held at a distance from the slave. Wilson’s transcendental prudence requires a material outcome in order to exist. Thus, the African slave was still a slave even after the Civil War because “Sharecropping and segregation were the new signs of slavery.”²⁹ Failure to procure tangible results for Black folks means that the role of the slave is still in circulation. Everyone, all citizens, are still at risk of bondage by the State if only mere lip service is paid to material rewards. In only minor distinction, Washington positions <freedom> as the antithesis of <slavery>. His phronetic rhetoric, like Wilson, demands a material outcome to social events. In other words, there is no practically wise judgement without practical results. Ideographs are political tools designed to compel audience members to act. As Washington demonstrates, ideographs are phronetic or prudent when they work around probable constraints for the collective and communal good.

WASHINGTON’S CONSUMER AUDITOR AND THE PURSUIT OF <FREEDOM>

Reconceptualizing Edwin Black’s notion of the second persona, I suggest that markets constitute audiences with particular identities.³⁰ Who is the implied auditor of marketing discourse like *The Negro in Business*? As Black articulates, humans in the modern world are not born with wholly fixed identities and therefore their sense of self

can be shaped, molded and influenced in and through rhetorical means. As a critic, we “can see in the auditor implied by a discourse a model of what the rhetor would have his real auditor become.”³¹ In Washington, we see a clear attempt to make his White auditor agreeable to Black economic participation. Like Black’s second persona, the consumer auditor is an implied audience member but is also an actual avatar at play in the public sphere and holds a malleable perception of value. This value carries economic weight and is tangible in markets, specifically. For example, Washington’s White consumer auditor values agricultural and farm development, arguably the most important industries in the American South in early twentieth century, due to their economic potential for White Southern families. Washington’s rhetorical performances, particularly in marketing for Tuskegee, speaks directly to the promotion of agricultural industries. Washington introduces prominent African American Tuskegee professor, George Washington Carver as an intellectual already making intellectual discoveries of tremendous value to the White economy:

The minute it was seen that through industrial education the Negro youth was not only studying chemistry, but also how to apply the knowledge of chemistry to the enrichment of the soil, or to cooking, or to dairying, and that the student was being taught not only geometry and physics, but their application to Blacksmithing, brickmaking, farming...there began to appear for the first time a common bond between the two races and co-operation between the North and South.³²

In this way, Washington appeals to the economic value set held by his White consumer auditor, adding that Black business and education is a boon, a harbinger to White dominated industries, including farming and agri-businesses. The consumer auditor is the audience called out in a text based on their economic interests and their conceptions of “value” as expressed in markets. Washington attempts to add to the

consumer auditor's value set by subtly appealing to its racialized tenets, imagining his consumer auditor as 1) Hungry for economic improvement; 2) Convinced by efforts, not words; 3) Feeling racially superior, but willing to concede the merits of business education for Blacks if that education can improve the relative economic position of Whites; and 4) Desiring assurance no retaliation by Blacks for their former enslavement.

The reason it is important to call out and speak to a consumer auditor is directly tied to the public force of markets. In contemporary example, large corporations like Walmart, serving millions of shoppers unconcerned with its deleterious employment conditions for workers, hails a consumer auditor in its marketing messages and garners influence over the public both in the marketplace and in national politics as a direct consequence. The consumer auditor grants the critic insight not just into what publics purchase, but what publics value and the myriad opportunities for contesting, promoting, and aligning those values with strategies of resistance.

How does Washington's use of <freedom> to identify with his White consumer auditor fit into the Orientation of Markets? Government holds power in place. There can be no system of domination without stakeholders, and no stakeholders without a State apparatus to sustain the dominant's powerbase. As Lemke argues:

Domination is a particular type of power relationship that is both stable and hierarchical, fixed and difficult to reverse. Foucault reserves the term "domination" to "what we ordinarily call power." Domination refers to those asymmetrical relationships of power in which the subordinated persons have little room for maneuver because their "margin of liberty is extremely limited". But states of domination are not the primary source for holding power or exploiting asymmetries, on the contrary they are the effects of technologies of government. Technologies of government account for the systematization, stabilization and regulation of power relationships that may lead to a state of domination.³³

Technologies of government are responsible for the normalizing of any structure of state domination. In the Orientation of Markets, government creates discursive fields whereby new forms of knowledge are produced that sustain and regulate official power, typically in and through capital.³⁴ As I have argued thus far, and will continue here, the governments of modernity are corporations at their core. What is important here is the function of policy. One of the products of policy is to shift both the natural and social world inside tight economic terms. For example, the economic discourse on Efficient Resource Management recapitulates the natural biodiversity of the Amazon into monetary terms, where the genes of rare species can be manipulated for pharmaceutical purposes in pursuit of “conserving our natural resources.”³⁵ We conserve when it is fiscally responsible, but not for any other reason. Or more poignantly, urban communities become worthy of investment when they offer White incentive to raise capital, typically at the expense of Black inhabitants.³⁶ What set of policies, processes, procedures, and protocols maintains and authorizes such transactions? This is governmental power. Even a traditional roll back in state power has limited impact on governmental power. There is no such thing as big or small government. There is government, upon which the appearance of liberal or conservative government exists. When activists march on behalf of more civil liberties, cleaner communities, improved funding, immigration on what terms do they march? Arguments made on purely rational, democratic and human terms will fail. It simply is not the language of modern government and corporate society.

When rhetors persuade a consumer auditor, they do so on the same grounds that are appreciated by government and its citizen shareholders. Modern conceptions of

neoliberalism are nothing more than the ubiquitous belief in <freedom> for business organizations and individuals. However, neoliberalism is not precisely the problem for the neoliberal model of self-determination and de-regulated markets as the neoliberal concept is only 50 years old, while the positioning of the natural world and human bodies as capital is at least 1,500 years old and holds more symbolic, material and economic weight.³⁷ The actual problem is an infected governmental logic scarred by a politics of domination and scarcity since the fifth century in Europe. It is to this greater challenge that Washington speaks to link the values of his White consumer auditor with the living conditions of Black people. For this reason, Washington's program of action and activism retain their political sophistication and novelty in the current moment. Washington does not throw away or treat his White auditor as a villain, a menace, or as historically treacherous. Instead, Washington speaks to a common need between Blacks and Whites and addresses his audience as human beings *conditioned* by a millennia of lulling capitalist psychosis.

In the modern moment, instances of <freedom> are available for contestation at the level of the consumer auditor, not an amorphous state. Washington's function as a value builder identifies how our common road to success is not in speaking to politicians as politicians, but to politicians as people in need. That building a movement means building a movement of buyers. The question of "how can I serve you?" becomes more instructive here than "how can I defeat, own, or escape you?" However, it should be noted that value builders are not always benign. Instead, it is possible to establish and build a beatific image for an audience, then threaten to destroy that image if a particular

course of action goes unfollowed. Washington, following his most influential speech, accomplishes this in the nadir of his Atlanta Exposition Speech, “Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward.”³⁸ Washington lays out for his audience what is at stake in the South. He promotes an image of a new Southern utopia in the preceding lines, he builds the value in image of a new South, then introduces 16 million hands that can become either angels or demons to Whites, either securing or jeopardizing his White consumer auditor’s mythic <freedom>.

By way of contemporary example, Flint, Michigan was without clean water for its residents for nearly four and a half years. The problem began in 2014 when the city opted to change its water source from Lake Huron to the Flint River to save \$4 million dollars in annual cost. Following studies that revealed dangerous levels of lead, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) began to send in bottled water to Flint in 2016, nearly one and a half years after contamination.³⁹ Conditions did not improve for Flint residents until they attacked the monetary motive of federal bodies like the EPA. Following the federal prosecution of local politicians and after nearly four years without potable water, Flint residents, many of whom were poor, filed a \$722 million-dollar lawsuit against the EPA on January 17, 2017. Less than two months later, the EPA settled with a \$100 million-dollar grant to rebuild Flint’s water infrastructure. Indeed, citizens publicly rebuked Flint’s politicians. Together with filing legal and fiscal action against the EPA after the nation watched Flint residents suffer, created a small gap for

generating aid, but only after years of suffering, lead contamination, and a dozen deaths.⁴⁰

What could have been done to expedite a solution? What alternatives existed for the Flint “market?” In the absence of local businesses with collective power and weight, seemingly very little, but only if we confine our thought experiment to the realm of pure politics, rules, and regulations. When instead we ask, “how can I drink clean water today?” The possibility of negotiating with regional enterprises, buying, reselling, and transporting potable, clean water is easier to surmise. Flint residents could have called for a community wide halt to local taxes if Flint politicians, including Flint Mayor, Karen Weaver and Michigan Governor, Rick Snyder, refused to accommodate residents and source water directly from manufacturers. The new rule:

No citizen should have to shoulder the burden of taxes if government corrupts basic services. Just as no retail consumer ought to pay out of pocket for corrupt goods. I make no guarantee these measures would “work.” However, they are offered with the understanding that monetary pressure within the American capitalist psychosis—that is, the withholding of taxes, creates movement and action by threatening traditional definitions of <freedom>, particularly when that movement is targeted at White consumer audiences of influence. Citizen shareholders, just as corporate shareholders, must remember their financial capacity for collective bargaining regardless of their individual income levels. Withholding taxes is but one measure to levy deeply held ideological commitments against the state. Washington, however, through the ideographic dimension of <freedom>, indexes another. I turn to discuss this now.

Redefining Political Effectivity: Washington's *The Negro in Business*

In *The Negro in Business*, Washington describes racial hostility and the role of industrial education in the American South.⁴¹ In this project, Washington writes of how to address racial animosity and racialized struggle, proposing an economic plan that gives Black people access to Industrial training, a skill set that would enable Black entrepreneurship. Where entrepreneurship serves as an economic boon to the Southern states, Whites, according to Washington, will also benefit from the productive labor and liberation of Black people. Given Southern illiteracy rates of around 33-50 percent for Black people from 1900-1910, *The Negro in Business*, was likely not written for all Blacks as a direct audience.⁴² Instead, Blacks are addressed as a fourth persona and given a strategy for action indirectly.⁴³ Washington focuses on explicating behaviors of Black and White populations in the South to a well-read, liberal White auditor. Washington's rhetoric illustrates how true political power is constituted by an ideograph of <freedom> and dependent upon economic enfranchisement.

Using the enthymeme,⁴⁴ Washington guides his White consumer auditor into reasoning that suggests Black economic ownership, not mere labor, produces mutual respect, cooperation, and interracial coordination in the South. Enthymeme works because it relies on unstated, already observed cultural assumptions about reality, typically by presenting two major premises and omitting the largest, final premise.⁴⁵ According to Joshua Prenisol, "The rhetor communicates his or her piece; the audience thinks theirs. If the rhetor is successful, the audience thinks a piece that brings them

nearer to identification with the rhetor's position.”⁴⁶ Thus, the goal of enthymeme is tacit identification and persuasion. In this way, Washington deploys enthymematic reasoning in order to relate familiar assumptions regarding <freedom> to Black equity: “Slavery presented a problem of destruction; freedom presents a problem of construction.”⁴⁷ Here, Washington proposes an enthymeme: If “slavery” presents a problem of destruction in the lives of Black people and “freedom” presents a problem concerning construction, then successful building of industry and collation of resources is the antidote to the destruction wrought by slavery. If physical violence on bodies of color is at stake in the process of deconstructing slavery, then the <freedom> *through* material construction is also a countermeasure against White physical violence on Black bodies. Since the enthymematic reasoning places “construction” as antithetical to slavery, physical harm to Black bodies is countered by interracial cooperation in industry. In the enthymematic rationale, cooperation and mutual participation in the market place douse the flames of racialized hostility or as Washington states: “a general appreciation of the fact that industrial education of the Black people had a direct, vital and practical bearing on the White people of the South.”⁴⁸ This enthymematic reasoning indexes <freedom> as a final goal imbued with an economic flavor and the only possible condition for the true end to slavery.

Further, Washington suggests to both his unspoken Black audience and his intended White audience that true <freedom> happens when Black hands build Black assets, not merely White products. Washington uses the enthymeme to bind Black <freedom> to productive labor in markets. In so doing, Washington calls forth a positive

image of Southern Whites, eager to “teach” Black folks how to be free. Washington asserts that the Southern Black community needed to learn the difference between “work” and “being worked” following the end of slavery. Washington’s use of “hands” characterizes the benefit of “work” as <freedom>. Washington says:

The White people saw in the movement to teach the Negro youth the dignity, beauty and civilizing power of all honorable labor with the hands, something that would lead the Negro into his new life of freedom gradually and sensibly.⁴⁹

The enthymeme functions like this: Citizens gain <freedom> through labor in markets, Whites have become citizens through productive labor in markets, and therefore, *Black can achieve <freedom> through productive labor in markets.*

Tuskegee Institute, Washington argued, is the place where White folks can support and “dignify labor,” and nobly teach Black people how to be free and productive. Monetary support for Black business education at Tuskegee is substantiated by helping White folks, otherwise hostile to Black people, to see themselves, their purpose, and the purpose of Black life differently.⁵⁰ This is how Washington phronetically builds value for his White auditor. Washington is careful not to equate productive labor with White employment. However, Washington’s focus on the terms “hands” and “work” set up a rationale that pivots against Marxists or anti-capitalist definitions of <freedom>. Paul Stob argues that one of the best ways to understand Washington’s rhetoric is to understand the metaphor of the hand so deeply woven into Washington’s rhetorical performances. In fact, Stob suggests that the physical body represents a specific grammar, where meanings are assigned to the body’s parts. The heart comes to represent compassion, the head represents rationality, the legs, mobility and movement, but the

hands always mean work and an economy of exchange. In Stob, the body is a network of exchange symbolically linked to the social and psychic natures of human experience.

Hands are different, however, for hands are used to conduct most forms of work, but they also can reach above the head, higher than rationality, they can also massage the legs and improve mobility, hands can warm the fingers and are our primary method of contact for meeting someone new and bridging the gap between “known” and “unknown.”⁵¹

According to Stob, the body is an economy unto itself. The hands, the agent that produces results and surplus. Productive, laboring hands are about action, impact, and individualism. However, Washington’s rhetorical corpus suggests that hands are also about *ownership*. Laboring hands meant Blacks would create “their own food supplies, their own homes, their own comforts. Laboring hands entailed at least some amount of control over the resources of everyday life.”⁵²

If Black hands and productive labor, as identified in Washington’s enthymematic expression, are defined by equity and ownership over results, then the Black <freedom> established in markets are recognized through entrepreneurial means. Here, ownership over the means of production are essential, the defining distinction between work and enslavement, and the skillful result of trained Black hands funded by White pockets. In a move of rhetorical duplicity,⁵³ Washington *seems* to suggest that Whites are the harbingers of <freedom>, consistent with classical tropes of American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny.⁵⁴ Upon a second reading, however, Washington’s use of enthymeme persuades both his unspoken Black audience and his intended White

audience to believe that true <freedom> happens when Black hands build Black assets, not merely White products.

Second, using the “already-present” illusion, Washington tells White people how to see and act toward Black people.⁵⁵ With the “already-present” illusion, Washington is persuading his audience that, not only can a “supportive” White audience help usher in a new era of <freedom> with Black collaboration, there is “already-present” in the South a supportive White audience that “sees” the economic value in a thriving Black citizenry and whom are already dedicated to <freedom> as constituted by individual ownership, property, and capital. Being already-present helps White folks imagine themselves as non-racist, already in communion with Blacks, and already working toward wealth-building with market participation *today*. <Freedom> is the rationale that ties White interests with Blacks.

Furthermore, industrial education appealed directly to the individual and community interest of the White people. They saw at once that intelligence coupled with skill would add wealth to the community and to the state, in which both races would have an added share.⁵⁶

Washington’s projection of a supportive White South may be difficult to imagine.

Indeed, the White South was particularly hostile to Washington’s message and to Black folks. As Kirt Wilson argues, violence in early twentieth century America is the primary means to keep Black folks quiet about equality and to demonstrate to Blacks that “White neighbors would not accept you as an equal partner in the South’s systems of power.”⁵⁷ Moreover, both Tuskegee and Washington himself were often met with the threat of violence. Acts of aggression plagued Tuskegee’s campus at least once a year as White supremacist and assassins came to assault students and, on occasion, attempt to kill

Booker T. Washington, only to find him away on business.⁵⁸ Washington needed to be careful with his words in any act of public address. Given the Southern racialized context, Washington's decision to cast Whites as "already" supportive seems misplaced, particularly given that most of the funding for Tuskegee came from Northern White donors.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, Washington persists by casting an illusion of an "already-present" Southern White, supportive of Black equity and justice, in order to structure the responses of his Northern White auditor and influence the way in which White folks see themselves in relation to Black business and education. Washington is constructing an image of a Southern White citizenry that quickens political action and aligns Whites' agenda with Black folks' agenda. Washington's rhetoric suggests to Northern White benefactors, the South is safe for charity, that Southern Whites are friendly to Black industrial training and will not stall the impact of monetary contributions, and that Northerners are safe to work with Tuskegee to foster economic vitality and create a pathway to <freedom>.

In Washington's already-present illusion, Southern White people naturally "see" the value of hard work and naturally see and seek the freedom inherent to Black folks. Washington constructs Southern Whites as wise seers, eager to watch as Blacks earn a life of economic prosperity through labor in markets: this new life is the life of <freedom>. Tacitly, Washington's rhetorical use of the already-present illusion suggests that truly "supportive Whites" will not stand in the way of economic progress by lynching Black businesspeople, burning down Black businesses, refusing to work with

people of color, or by stealing land, all of which are well documented practices of Southern White supremacists in the South in 1906 and beyond.⁶⁰ As a political discourse, Washington's rhetoric incites expedient democratic action by appealing to an economic materialist logic and by aligning the "supportive White" with the ideograph of <freedom> as instantiated in a particular time and place, the American South in 1906.

In a Burkean move of casuistic stretching, defined as the reinterpretation or the re-assemblage of meanings into a new amalgam,⁶¹ Washington's use of the "already-present" illusion permits a re-ordering of the very definition of "White." Washington reinterprets and shifts the purpose of White power from "violence on Blacks" to "aid to Blacks." In early twentieth century South, White folks did *not* believe in the education, liberal or otherwise, of Black people.⁶² The dearth in quality, funding and number of Black public schools serve as evidence. Yet, Washington wants his audience to imagine something differently. Watch how Washington builds his case of the supportive Southerner as *obviously* pro Black liberal and business education:

I find that many people, especially in the North have a wrong conception of the attitude of the Southern White people. It is and has been very generally thought that what is termed 'higher education' of the Negro, has been from the first opposed by the White South. This opinion is far from correct. . . . practically all of the White people who talked to me on the subject took it for granted that instruction in the Greek, Latin, and modern languages would be one of the main features of our curriculum. ⁶³

Washington's already-present White Southerner functions synecdochally for Washington's Northern auditor. The already-present White Southerner is willing to support Black liberal education only if it is coupled with Black industrial/business training and bares fruit in the White economy. Washington's already-present illusion supports the value of Black education by aligning it with economically productive labor, beneficial to White economies and driven by the pursuit of the White American definition of <freedom>.

Third, Washington proposes a political strategy of unification between the White North and South, interracially and across territories through economic means via the rhetorical anecdote. According to Kathleen Hall Jameison, anecdote summarizes, vivifies, and presents ideas in tight packages, uniting cultural collective experiences. Anecdotes are synecdochal as they come to represent reality for an audience rather than merely reduce reality to statistical inferences and figures.⁶⁴ Christopher Oldenburg argues that anecdote can cast events in such a light that engenders a sense of credibility and trust in the auditor's mind. Oldenburg argues that anecdotes are ethoic, they are representative windows into who the rhetor is for an audience.⁶⁵ Anecdotes and ethoic arguments are more concerned that an audience *believe* a rhetor is credible. The audience need only believe that a rhetor represents their views, the rhetor does not actually need to hold their values independently.⁶⁶ Mary Stuckey articulates how anecdotal storytellers embody the feelings the audience has already internalized in order to establish trust.⁶⁷ The anecdote suggests to the audience not just what the rhetor "believes," but what the rhetor is also "against." Washington is such an anecdotal storyteller. For Washington, <freedom> is

possible only by incorporating economically empowered Blacks and Whites into the larger network of Capitalism and trade as Washington believes and expresses that a democratic logic will always be subservient to the Orientation of Markets. He writes:

Beginning in the year 1877, the Negro in the South lost practically all political control; that is to say, as early as 1885 the Negro scarcely had any members of his race in the National Congress or state legislatures, and long before this date had ceased to hold state offices...It became evident to many of the wise Negroes that the race would have to depend for its success in the future less upon political agitation and the opportunity for holding office, and more upon something more tangible and substantial. It was this period in the Negro's spirit and ambition of the colored people most depressed, that the idea of industrial or business development was introduced and began to be made prominent.⁶⁸

Reconstruction lasted from 1865 to 1877; by 1885 according to Washington, Black people were already politically weakened. During its height, Black folks occupied political office in high volume in the United States. It would only be a few years, however, before Black people would be denied these positions and marginalized politically. In a Burkean move of identification,⁶⁹ Washington deploys the anecdote as rhetorical strategy to move his White audience to identify with his message and to articulate how fragile and fleeting the exclusive focus on political suffrage is for Black people. Washington uses the anecdote to side with Northern Whites who believe that Black <freedom> must be earned if it is to be maintained. Indeed, as Stob and Bay assert, Washington must counter the Northern myth of Southern Black uselessness:

Whereas the Northern urban paradigm for defining Blackness and assessing civil-rights advocacy had positioned African Americans in the rural South as unable or unwilling to participate in civic life, Washington's speeches empowered them as agents in the modern world. His language fit with the life many Southerners knew, while also inviting them to turn from supposedly complacent and compliant laborers into citizens ready to redirect their lives and the nation⁷⁰

In a time when free Black folks were considered liabilities to the State, Washington's rhetorical use of the anecdote suggests a reasoning that showcases how Black political power and liberation are gained through the material ownership of assets. To have true <freedom>, then, is to produce individual land resources first, then acquire the subsequent political rewards for both the Black and White South. Herein lies the power of Washington's anecdotal tactic: As a "wise Negro" that privileges asset production over the violence of social integration conspicuously similar to Northern White folks, Washington creates what Stanley Fish calls a verbal manifestation of his own character for his White auditor through the anecdote of the "wise Negro."⁷¹

Producing assets is, given the logics of the corporate state, a rite of passage for true American citizenship. According to Burke, capital is a God-term, where businesses and entrepreneurs carry with them an assumed *goodness*.⁷² Indeed, a survey of modern urban landscapes illustrates how commercial and business enterprises stand above every state building and church. Where the sky symbolizes a divine kingdom of heaven, we can by way of looking upon our contemporary world, understand which edifices and organizations are closer to God. As such, the ability to produce businesses and assets is a deific orchestration seen through the lens of the Orientation of Markets and are a necessary precondition of true participation in any republic "under God." Thus, if Blacks are to gain political participation, the warped logic provided by the Orientation of Markets via the capitalist State will only authorize civic involvement when Blacks can first demonstrate a capacity for asset production. Washington's following anecdote demonstrates this point:

While Whites might object to a Negro's being postmaster...he would be invited every time to attend the stockholder's meeting of a business concern in which he had an interest, and that he could buy property in practically any portion of the South where the White man could buy it...when a Negro became the owner of a home and was a taxpayer, having a regular trader or other occupation, he at once became a conservative and [a] safe citizen and voter⁷³

Here, Washington has articulated the way in which a democratic ethos and rationale are subsumed under a capitalist logic, in which politics is always already subservient to finance. On their own, without economic empowerment, Black folks will be powerless against the stripping of political rights. This is eerily prophetic in that African Americans in the subsequent *Jim Crow* years faced resistance to voting rights, housing, jobs, classical education, etc.⁷⁴ However, Washington argued to his White consumer auditor that, with some economic enfranchisement, Black people can work to occupy political spaces and exercise their political voice to the benefit of White society and the capitalist State:

They say, too, that when a Negro became the owner of a home and was a taxpayer, having a regular trader or other occupation, he at once became a conservative and safe citizen and voter; one who would consider the interests of his whole community before casting his ballot; and, further, one whose ballot could not be purchased.⁷⁵

Washington, like the progressive Northern Whites of his era, assumes that it is the manipulation of financial and economically destitute communities that allows for wealthy demagogues to assume office. Therefore, an ascension in financial status for the impoverished represents a civic baptism in consciousness, authorizing the public participation normally withheld from Blacks by the corporate state. In the capitalist psychosis, money makes citizens shareholders in the true wealth of society, for these individuals have valuables at stake to protect and require a legal-political apparatus to do

so. Washington taps into his White audience's guiding orientation, the Orientation of Markets, by aligning his message with a belief in the values of individualism, property, and ownership tied with <freedom>. In so doing, Washington builds a respected case for his White Northern auditor to accept Black business education and equity on behalf of <freedom>.

Indeed, Washington knows the Orientation of Markets well, honoring the value of money when he celebrates Black entrepreneurs and investors:

Where these fortunes have been wisely administered and increased, they have contributed to the formation of a leisure class from which we may hope to see issue a type of trained, disciplined, and public-spirited young men, who should become the leaders, teachers and active workers in the uplifting of the Negro race. If at present so few young men of this type have issued from this well-to-do element of the Negro people, it is because the members of our race have yet to learn the true value and meaning of money and the freedom that it buys.⁷⁶

Here, Washington reiterates that money is a precondition of <freedom>, a kind of gateway to leisure, citizenship and uplift. Only through the unrelenting path to markets, can Black folks become disciplined leaders who can be afforded leisure. Washington is sending a tacit message to Black folks. Black folks are not yet adjusted to the White Orientation of Markets, having been unable to benefit from its perverse logic in times of slavery. However, if <freedom> is only made possible through dollars and markets, then Black folks do well to remember that their security is dependent on being able to procure tangible resources and practical outcomes for themselves. This conception of <freedom> is not readily available for Black folks of 1906. Many Blacks were under the impression that <freedom> meant the ability to self-govern, however, Washington suggests that <freedom> is financially implicated. One cannot have freedom and be poor in an

environment that abuses the poor for profit, evidenced by policies like the Vagrancy Act of 1866 that could imprison Blacks for not having gainful employment.

Washington, speaking inconspicuously to a Black auditor, argues that market domination will impact Black lives and due to this fact, Blacks must learn how to meaningfully influence markets for the betterment of Black communities and society. To escape the trap of bondage promised even to the so-called “freed” Black, Washington offers business as a primary method. The slave was:

very often skilled in trades which proved to be for him the thresholds to business enterprise in a condition of freedom. The slave skilled as a butcher, for instance, after emancipation often opened a butcher shop of his own; the skilled carpenter taught himself to read and cipher and became a contractor; and the skilled plantation poultry-man in some cases gradually built up a trade reckoned by the car-loads.⁷⁷

Notice Washington’s subtle advice: The very project for which a person is enslaved to complete, must now be used to remove Blacks from the trap of dependence and unfreedom. There simply is no other choice. Either the Black works to impact markets for the betterment of society, or the Black will be dominated by markets for the betterment of the corporate state. <freedom> starts wherever you are. Wherever one is positioned, that is the place to begin to act with prudence, intervening in markets in the simplest and clearest ways possible.

VALUE BUILDING AS A MODE OF PERSUASION

By leveraging his White auditor’s ideological content of <freedom>, Washington builds a valuable case for his White audience for Black business, education and equity. Unlike Andrew King,⁷⁸ who argues that Washington is but a spokesman for the American

Dream, I assert that Washington is more of a brick layer, strategic player, and shrewd businessman using the culturetypal ideologies of the early twentieth century to generate a Return on Investment for Black folks, most notably with the Tuskegee Institute. Indeed, Washington's rhetoric is how Tuskegee was built into a machine and vibrant community,⁷⁹ and the reason Southern White newspapers like "Leavenworth Herald," "Colored Harvest," "Broad Ax," "Enterprise" called Washington a brilliant race man, leading 7,000,000 Black folks to the path of equity, ownership, and productivity in markets, the true path of American <freedom>.⁸⁰ As one reporter writes regarding the level of value that Washington established in White consciousness:

is of incalculable value, as showing in the Negro capabilities and activities, which in many circles have been belittled or entirely ignored. There is a great future for the negro race in America, this future the colored people will make glorious by their own efforts.⁸¹

The fact is that Washington is difficult to ignore when he speaks and aligns his message directly with the primary values of his Northern White consumer auditor: <freedom> through markets and capital. Washington can do this because his rhetoric supports more than a public speaking career. Washington's rhetoric intervenes directly in the educational and industrial markets of the South for the benefit of Black folks by first speaking within the norms of Northern White rhetorical culture and speaking within the terms of the Burkean capitalist psychosis.⁸² Washington's rhetorical prowess helps us to see the way in which the ideograph of <freedom> is utilized to speak to the values his Northern White audience holds most dearly and galvanizes political action through economic empowerment. In so doing, Washington supports a small, but dramatic shift in public consciousness for not only does he generates massive monetary support for Black

education, he authorizes Black education as a worthy goal to Northern philanthropy, securing over \$2 million in endowment alone, or roughly \$50 million adjusted for inflation, in reserve funds, alone, for Tuskegee.⁸³

Importantly, from Washington we learn that rhetors do not have to reinvent or redefine culturally salient ideographs in order to be prudent. Rather, by “tapping into” mainstream articulations of important ideographs like <freedom> and <property>, rhetors incite public transformation and political agitation. By making use of seemingly static definitions of <freedom>, Washington denounces attempts to separate political action from economic initiatives, thereby making clear the real aim of politics: control over access to resources. A rhetorical analysis of ideographs tells us what society cares about and what the limits of our democratic logics are.

Additionally, the economic logic Washington seeks to exploit is useful for the modern era. An understanding of how <freedom> spawns from the Orientation of Markets helps us understand how citizen rights and corporate rights can become conflated as seen in the 2010 Citizen’s united decision. Here, an economic logic pervades the demos, allowing corporations to count as singular entities with basic rights to speech. When it comes to real living and protest, we would be remiss to discount the centrality of economic logics on everyday governance. As indicated by the role of capital in electing officials, the problem is not that the Orientation of Markets in the capitalist state is broken, the problem is that it is an efficient system that continues to redo our conceptions of the demos and our possibilities for meaningful democratic participation.⁸⁴ We must learn to see differently. But how and in what time frame? I am suggesting that the accrual

of economic resources allows us to turn capital back on itself by creating spaces for new types of institutions. Leveraging socially meaningful material goods is one way to establish leverage in a system dominated by materialist rationalities. For example, the 1955 bus boycotts were pivotal for their role in challenging Jim Crow laws and federally desegregating public transportation.⁸⁵ Racialized protest of similar strategy continues today. In 2015 for example, racialized protests at the University of Missouri fell upon deaf ears to the mostly White administration until University dollars were jeopardized. Like the bus boycotts of 1955, predominately African American activists pulled for political action by clogging the flow of dollars within markets.

Neither a hunger strike waged by Jonathan Butler. . . . nor several racial incidents on campus- racial slurs hurled at the school's Black student body president and at attendants of the Legion of Black Collegians, including a swatika drawn in feces on a dorm room wall- had elicited media attention or action from the university. Even after protestors blocked President Wolfe's car at an October 10 homecoming parade, he refused to address the issues on campus.⁸⁶

When the Mizzou Football protest nearly forfeited one million dollars if then President, Tim Wolfe, failed to resign, Tim Wolfe resigned.⁸⁷ The protest at Mizzou is one instance of market intervention in college football that demonstrates that threats to deplete capital are useful in giving political voice to the marginalized. I do not suggest that we “give in” to the logic of market orientations in any wholesale fashion. However, I do imagine that attempts to control and leverage resources by minority and resisting communities is one way to introduce new institutions governed by new voices and for new purposes. We do not need to resist the dominant conception of <freedom> in order to do this. Ideographs like <freedom> can be tools for resistance, not merely by their transformative prospects,⁸⁸ but by tapping into an ideograph’s dominant definition. In this

way, rhetoricians can understand how to make prudent use of dominant conceptions of ideographs like <freedom>. The conventional definition of <freedom> is transformative when it is used to reframe experiences and foster new behaviors in groups that have been traditionally oppressed by hegemonic logics.

Washington gives us tools to rethink political effectivity by suggesting a focus first on material control. In addition to demonstrating the way in which ideographs settle disputes between competing logics, ultimately reframing our modes for thinking and action, Washington provides a means for persons of color to live and cope within a corporate state governed by an Orientation of Markets. White folks will not destroy White capital just to oppress the other. They cannot, as the Orientation of Markets is not readily malleable to conscious manipulation and is bound in the DNA of the modern state. Instead, the system in place continues to recognize capital over persons. In order to exploit it, to challenge it, actors must turn capital back on itself by rhetorically intervening in markets on behalf of our public(s) good. In so doing, we create new institutions inflected with non-White forms of cultural agency and authenticity.

Washington's example demonstrates the possible use of the traditional, Western, individualistic, materialistic and economically centered ideograph of <freedom> in order to create meaningful institutions that serve the oppressed. Further, by stepping into the rhetorical value-centered approach, by becoming rhetorical value builders in our present markets, circumstances and situations, we take on a project of resistance already having tremendous momentum. Washington reframes experience also for the entrepreneur-activist by aligning the seemingly self-interested individual with the community and

changing the terms of capital acquisition to equate with “service.” It is to these modern harbingers of Washington’s Black <freedom> and economic empowerment program that I now turn.

BOYCE WATKINS AND JAY MORRISON:

MODERN RHETORICAL VALUE BUILDERS IN PURSUIT OF BLACK

<FREEDOM>

The ideograph of <freedom>, for my purposes, is important not only for illustrating how Washington’s rhetorically builds value for his White consumer auditor for the benefit of Black people, but also because the ideograph of <freedom> is the phronetic link between Washington’s Black empowerment and resistance project and the current moment. Boyce Watkins, a contemporary public figure and founder of the Black Business School is one such prominent individual making use of conceptions of <freedom> as influenced by a capitalist psychosis in effort to procure resources for Black folks. Reaching between five to ten million Black people per week, Boyce Watkins rhetorically intervenes in markets, providing digital learning opportunities for Black entrepreneurs and investors. Notice how Watkins relies on the ideograph of <freedom> to explicate the deep ties between capital and the <freedom> of speech.

That show you’re on. . . its owned by a network. That company is owned by somebody else, those books you writing, the publishing company is owned by somebody else, that record deal you got, the record label is [owned by Whites]. . . you’re giving speeches, well, the speaker’s bureau is controlled by somebody else so when you become kind of their least favorite Negro. . . they are going to castrate you and throw you out the window and replace you with somebody else.⁸⁹

In Watkins' analysis, Black opportunities for mass communication are precluded by non-economic ownership. Black folks cannot control messages to the Black community because they are always already in jeopardy of being fired or swapped with alternate choices should they challenge the dominant White, liberal or conservative, opinion. Watkins offers business as an organizing principle of <freedom>, one that establishes the very legitimacy to speak truth to power in a stable, consistent, and effective manner:

So what we did is we tried to structure our organization. . . to be protected against that kind of backlash and what it does is it translates into a kind of freedom of speech that I think is pretty unique. I'm not really scared of anybody when I do what I do. . . . I know I'm still going to have that four or five million people a week that we reach and it's a beautiful thing.⁹⁰

The ideograph of <freedom> demands that citizens, Black and White, engage in individual productivity, particularly of the entrepreneurial variety, in order to establish opportunity for social mobility. Watkins describes the freedom of speech as a mere compensation, a byproduct of economic amalgamation through the business. Watkins, like Washington, recognizes that Black ownership is a requirement for the <freedom> to speak. As such, Watkins and Washington align on the notion that economic and entrepreneurial fluency, given the deep, public Orientation of Markets, *is* a political strategy of Black empowerment and resistance, not simply a concern by which we vet candidates. Also, it is important to note that in this formulation, the opportunity for democracy is realized in and through the capitalist psychosis. In other words, unless we trouble the distinctions between humans and assets, the compensations of democracy will wither absent market interventions. If the freedom of speech, particularly for Black folks,

is begotten only after economic ownership, then there are little hope other constitutional freedoms can be procured in any other way outside of markets.

Notice how Watkins' <freedom> articulates with Washington's. "When you get up every day if you can't decide what you are going to do that day, then to some extent someone is controlling your life."⁹¹ Watkins calls <freedom> a continuum, ranging from the ability to do as one pleases to total enslavement. Black folks, then, whose daily activities are structured by private enterprise, live on a new kind of plantation, one where the masters demand labor in exchange for daily bread.

A lot of Black people get up every day and don't like what they're doing, don't like who they're working with, they would not be doing that job if it wasn't for the money. Right? That's not freedom. That's not freedom. because you're not living the life you want, you're living the life somebody is forcing you to live. A good measuring stick for the kind of freedom you want is looking at the price you have to pay to turn something down . . . or the price you have to pay to exert your power.⁹²

Watkins describes the phenomenological experience of employee labor as a normalized version of enslavement. When daily employment activities, be they sweeping, mopping, marketing, cooking, etc. preoccupy our waking consciousness, there is a certain alienation from the finished results of our labor and the control of our time. Watkins tells us that this is the life "somebody else" is forcing you to live. Who is this "somebody" that controls? The owner of the organization in which you labor. Thus, both Watkins and Washington understand that market intervention and economic ownership are not only prerequisites for individual <freedom> but for the conscious control and manipulation of the <freedom> of others, including the set of daily activities that a person will fulfill as a condition of their employment. When daily activities are structured by the elite, the opportunities for resistance and empowerment are also constrained by the elite. It is for

this reason that an intervention in markets is necessary as a basic political, empowerment and resistance strategy.

Watkins argues that <freedom>, gained through market intervention, provides choices to the entrepreneur. In a tale of two Black women, both whom hate their jobs, Watkins says that the woman who over-spends on commodities in lieu of investments, displaces her opportunity for <freedom> as she will always be dependent on White employment for material support. This hypothetical woman has forfeited her opportunity to choose how she will spend her day and life because she is without the financial support to make a different decision. Thus, financial solvency is also a precondition of pragmatic determination over one's daily activities and offers the opportunity to say "no" to the White colonization of Black life and events. Here, Watkins is responsive to the Orientation of Markets which structures human life in market terms. By recognizing the public desire for security and <freedom> in and through markets, Watkins utilizes a market logic to suggest Black folks resist White domination via the only masters White folks are willing to recognize: capital and markets.

Watkins argues, "When you own nothing, then typically, somebody owns you."⁹³ Notice Watkins' equation: Assets, or items that deliver income on a monthly basis, unlock <freedom> because they create the ability to self-determine. Assets determine one's ability to walk away from places of employment where they might have otherwise tolerated racialized abuse. Assets solve for the bondage created by debt. Watkins, a former Syracuse University Professor of Finance, argues that debt, particularly student loan debt creates bondage by locking citizens "in to being committed for life to the

American economic system as a low-level laborer within some corporation that's owned by your oppressor.”⁹⁴

Watkins demonstrates that debt, as I have illustrated in Chapter 1 with European colonization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is a way to colonize one's ritual activities. By bringing an individual into debt, it is possible to bring an individual under the control of White private and governmental enterprises. Debt is a bondage that limits the ability to *live* anywhere else in the world. Interest payments tie the Black body to American soil. Protestors must be at work in the morning. The necessary cash flow and the time required to experience alternate global landscapes are inaccessible. Instead, the indebted must work to repay what they have borrowed. Watkins argues that student loan debt is particularly troublesome because it is issued without the appropriate training for building assets. That is, Black students take on loans to become employed at companies without learning how to generate capital independent employment as entrepreneurs. With a basic lack of control over earning potential, modern students are in a particularly precarious situation when it comes to repaying loans because they are without the rhetorical tools for market intervention, the very intervention that could accelerate their purchasing power and <freedom>. Student loan debt is a trick bag. Its primary purpose is to discipline and re-enslave a generation of individuals to corporate tyranny. The increasing privatization of otherwise “public” spaces is opportunity to pull citizens into low-paid jobs with little opportunity for individual or communal solvency. This is the work of government under an Orientation of Markets that pressures the marketplace to

guide human activity. Indeed, debt interest payments undermine one's ability to invest capital toward salubrious solutions.

Together, then, the basic miseducation regarding the amalgamation of capital and the inability to allocate dollars to growth funds, according to Watkins, makes economic ownership and a rhetorical intervention in markets cumbersome, if not impossible for most people, Black or White. "This is not just something that is done to college students. This is something that is done to people all throughout the world."⁹⁵ Here, Watkins recognizes the basic Orientation of Markets that constrains and dominates everyday life and that the power to control is based upon a definition of <freedom> determined by market outcomes. For Watkins, then, assets are the primary way to secure <freedom> from economic insecurity, which also means freedom from social and political insecurity, and build an empowerment campaign capable of resisting White domination by giving Black folks the freedom to choose their ritualistic habits and redefine capital itself.

For Watkins, an entrepreneurial culture is required for Black folks to acquire <freedom>.

Entrepreneurship is a culture. . . I would start reading everything I could, I would hang out with people who are like-minded Entrepreneurs, I would listen to podcasts on Entrepreneurship, I would obsess myself with it because really, that was the moment I became free was when I learned how to have a business."⁹⁶

Watkins notion of entrepreneurial rhetorical culture is important here. A rhetorical culture assumes a collective body of common mores, codes, attitudes, behaviors, and orientations. According to Watkins, an economic culture, founded on equitable participation in human relationships, both mediated and immediate, with people already invested in owning assets is the primary way to learn practically how to begin to escape

inevitable debt bondage and enter <freedom>. Notice how Watkins humanistically inflects capital and inserts a redefinition of the term “asset.” “Most wealth is not financial. There was a lot of capital to be found in relationships.”⁹⁷ Thus, the market and material outcomes Black folks produce together for the common good is a way of undoing cold, dehumanized notions of assets. In other words, by making relationships a focal point of a Black empowerment campaign, Watkins argues that relational equity is a powerful asset that delivers recurring income. Watkins’ new terms of capital privilege equitable human relationships as a pathway to <freedom>. Against a conception of capitalism that merely absorbs the world as David Harvey argues,⁹⁸ Watkins denounces greedy capitalism based on inequity in human relationships. “The greedy capitalist does not think ‘Okay, I want to get enough for me and my people to survive.’ The greedy Capitalist thinks ‘I have enough to survive, but I want it all’.”⁹⁹

Watkins is aware of the deep, public Orientation of Markets. He argues that capitalism can be remade differently. What is important to note is the idea that Watkins has constructed an economically sustainable, digital media business where his ideas are spread to millions of people. The rhetorical impact that took Booker T. Washington years to develop are exacerbated in the digital age for his intellectual descendants like Boyce Watkins. By arguing that varied forms of capitalism exist, Watkins speaks to a different human reality in and through markets. The critique of American corporations, from Watkins, comes through Watkins rhetorical intervention in markets via the Black Business School, YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram. In so doing, Watkins prudently creates an opportunity for interrogating and pushing back on the terms of capital fostered

by a millennia long allegiance to the capitalist psychosis *while* helping Black folks establish greater <freedom> through entrepreneurship.

In addition to Boyce Watkins, Jay Morrison, a Black entrepreneur and real estate investor running digital businesses for the pursuit of Black liberation, carries on Washington's Black empowerment rhetorical tradition. Morrison's economic definition of <freedom> is ultimately a response to governmental inactivity regarding African Americans. Morrison calls out the commodification of Black bodies endemic to the Orientation of Markets as a governmental feature.

Jim Crow, Black code, predatory lending laws: Government needs therapy. We need to remove ourselves. If you have the mentality that we are chattel property. This same government that we're supposed to say 'okay, I respect you.' How can you truly have this affinity for this country knowing what America has done and is still doing to our community?¹⁰⁰ Morrison continues to assert that government, not simply Whites, is responsible for the torture of Blacks:

Why do Black people hate America? I don't hate America but I hate what America has done to my people. So when you ask me 'does America hate Black people,' I ask you this question: Does a husband who abuses his wife, who beats his wife, who spits on his wife, who steals from his wife's bank account, who cheats on his wife, does he love his wife. Maybe he does, but his actions don't show it.¹⁰¹ Morrison believes that the consistent governmental destruction of Black people, including Black wealth is the primary reason behind Black immobility. Thus, protest against government cannot act as the primary method in which to produce <freedom>. While Morrison recognizes that protest is important for generating awareness, Morrison asserts that protest alone is ultimately ineffective. "We have to stop pretending that this government is going to somehow accidentally repair us."¹⁰²

Morrison continues: “if they were to assault or even massacre our people there on the ground, based on history and evidence, all I could think that my people would do is go protest about it. Go tweet or hashtag about it.”¹⁰³ Morrison’s rhetoric, however, offers a way to resist government inaction in line with Washington. In a lecture entitled *The Price We Pay*, Morrison articulates <freedom> as a form of Black social resistance against a governmental tyranny perverted by an Orientation of Markets.

This country does not love us. . . . get it straight through your head. This country was not made for you. . . . We have to be intentional about building our own economic infrastructure so that we can have our own defense infrastructure, have our own educational infrastructure, our own reserve funds.¹⁰⁴

Underscoring the salience of economic ownership and property, Morrison intervenes directly in markets not only to teach Black and White people how to buy property, wholesale property, flip and fix property, but also has created a real estate investment initiative designed to gentrify urban communities with Black dollars. In order to combat White gentrification of urban neighborhoods, Morrison created the first Black owned real estate investment crowd funding campaign that seeks to return capital to non-accredited investors while building community infrastructure. The Tulsa Real Estate Fund is a

way for urban communities to collectively pull their dollars and gain control over the revitalization of their communities. Due to a new SEC regulation, for the first time, members of the community can invest as low as \$500 into a real estate crowd fund and become part owners of all types of real estate investments including hotels, apartment buildings, schools.¹⁰⁵

Tulsa Real Estate Fund raised ten million dollars in its first week through African American owned crowd-funding.¹⁰⁶

Additionally, Morrison's book *The Solution*, marketing material for his real estate education company, identifies <freedom> as a sacrifice for the benefit of the community:

We must be intentional about uplifting the whole of us. Just because you were first to escape, buy your freedom or read your way to freedom doesn't mean you neglect the rest of your people not someone else's people, but your people. We must help ourselves. You don't need fancy classrooms or lecture halls to do this, take your message to our people in their schools, in their home, to their place of worship, to their corrections facility or even to their corner. The advancement of our people is solely on us and if you have knowledge or an expertise that they can benefit from it is your duty to give back.¹⁰⁷

In Morrison, the pursuit of communal <freedom> is a phronetic response to centuries of Black oppression. Notice also that Morrison's <freedom> exists independently of White economic ownership. Markets, for Morrison, are the vehicles through which Blacks invest in community and requires that financially successful Black folks organize the structure of Black communities. <freedom> cannot be given by Whites, it must be bought or learned. Thus, <freedom> is constituted by economic aggression. The tacit message <freedom> requires Blacks build an economic ecosystem where the communities' goods and services can circulate for the benefit of a Black public. Morrison, like Watkins and Washington, identifies economic ownership and skills as a precondition of <freedom>. Morrison's video lecture, "Are Blacks Really Free and Does America Hate Black People?," identifies <freedom> as being constituted by nationhood. <Freedom> requires land and property for in order to have nationhood, one must have territory.¹⁰⁸

Black land and real estate are to serve as the foundation for self-determining Black schools, hospitals, homes, neighborhoods, communities, and religious practices for Morrison. How are the control of private businesses possible without control over the

development of the land resources upon which they are built? When Blacks choose to lease land or property from Whites, they make their businesses and institutions financially vulnerable to rental rate hikes new economic restrictions. Land ownership absent a mortgage, provides greater opportunity to develop and control business assets. Like Booker T. Washington who utilized land ownership and industrial education to argue the benefits of amassing of land resources for Black folks communally, Morrison's real estate education is designed to show people, particularly Blacks, to own land resources as the foundation of wealth and <freedom> of the Black community. Consider Washington, for whom <freedom> must be earned. In a story about Mr. Trower, a Black man who labored to purchase farmland, using its surplus capital to travel North, eventually purchasing over \$75,000 in 1889 or roughly \$2,048,095.11, adjusted for modern inflation, of real estate, Washington articulates a Black ability to expand commercial ventures through realty ownership. Mr. Trower's real estate holdings allowed him to expand his catering business, becoming a site for the development of machinery and equipment and expanding the reach of his services to the South and West. Further, Mr. Trower's economic position afforded him the opportunity to become a community leader outside of business:

The position that Mr. Trower has obtained in the community in which he lives has made it possible for him to be of great service to other members of his race. He has established a business in which a number of them find employment and have an opportunity to obtain a business experience and training. His own success and, in many cases, his positive aid and support has given encouragement to a number of young men, and his influence in the community has enabled him to be in many ways a friend of the colored people and a leader of his race.¹⁰⁹

Notice how Washington's Mr. Trower is a success not only individually, but because he is able to educate the community on his economic enhancing methods, just as Washington accomplishes in his own life. Similarly, Morrison's "buy back the block" initiative, inspired by Rick Ross' 2016 rap anthem *Buy Back the Block* continues Washington's economic and community-oriented use of <freedom> and is designed to create reinvestment opportunities into Black communities. *Buy Back the Block* ends with the following lyrics:

It's all about your last name meaning something, you heard me? Start with you a duplex, work up to a house, maybe a small plaza, I'm looking for me a mall. Anybody selling a mall, holler at me, you heard me? Maybe get my momma a gas station. She like BP, Texaco, all of that you heard me?¹¹⁰

Ross, like Morrison, identifies Black land investment as a community project.

One's "last name" represents a collective. In Ross, we see a desire to instantiate a communal legacy through financial investment and service. Capitalizing off the movement of the music and culture, Morrison's full lecture: *How to Buy Back the Block*, describes the key to Black communal <freedom> as financial knowledge and vehicles.

So Ross and Gucci and 2 Chainz did a song called Buy Back The Block, and I was like, 'that's dope'. But now, for the average millennial, for the average person that gets that concept they say 'Yeah, let's buy our neighborhoods back'. . . . But how do they know how? Who know what a FICO score is? Who know what a DTI is? Who know what a LTV is? Who know what the PITI is? So it's cool to say it, but how do we actually buy back the block? So that's my job.¹¹¹

Like Washington's Tuskegee, Morrison's real estate education platform message suggests that financial training is required to marshal the fruits of investment for the Black community. It is not enough to create songs, slogans, hashtags or awareness campaigns for true community investment. <Freedom> requires knowledge of business

and land resources. Independent an essential understanding of the ways in which orientations of markets and capital shapes human experience, Black money and income are useless:

If you are intellectually mature a strong financial IQ and the kids in your family and your cousins have a strong financial IQ and everyone has life insurance, and everybody is going to die and everybody passes that money down. . . . But now when we get the money we don't go ball out with the money, but we actually do smart things with the money and that keeps happening for generation after generation. . . that's how you build family wealth.¹¹²

Here, “financial IQ” suggests a certain knowing of how markets and assets work.

It is possible to have Black money without having Black wealth. Wealth is the primary constituent of <freedom> and wealth is dependent on knowledge and education, on training people to see capital in a unique way in order to secure greater equity for Black families and communities. In this estimation, every member of the Black community is responsible for creating investments in vehicles like life insurance that they will never individually be able to spend. Every member must amalgamate financial resources for the primary benefit of others in lieu of the self. Thus, every person’s financial education does not primarily benefit them, but prudently benefits the community in which the individual finds themselves. Morrison’s phronetic reasoning looks like this: Where Black people as a collective face the tragedy of poverty, miseducation and racialized violence, any solution for Black individuals must address the community needs from which all Black individuals emerge. In order to best serve the larger Black public, Black individuals must be educated to secure land holdings, invest in assets like life insurance and business, and orient their market focus toward the communities that support them. Morrison’s tacit

plea, like Booker T. Washington and Boyce Watkins, is to intervene rhetorically in markets for the betterment of the public good.

Morrison's notion of <freedom> maintains its communal inflection as he moves to discuss pragmatic methods for healing the Black economic condition. Morrison argues that every person in the Black community has a certain level of wealth and that a tailored rhetorical and market message must be crafted for each bracket of Black wealth. Thus, the person with little ambition and capital needs inspirational and motivational messages to help them push through the trauma of White Supremacy and poverty and begin to repair credit, the person with cash needs to be shown investment vehicles to return cash on investment, the person with equity needs to be shown how to procure more. In Morrison, each person's level of <freedom> is both contingent on being shown new wealth opportunities and concurrently, each person is responsible for showing others new opportunities: "We help heal the broken person and get them inspired on the opportunities at hand."¹¹³ In order to acquire communal <freedom>, not only must Black folks invest money into land holdings, they invest money, time and resources into one another. Through public speeches, books, and marketing, Morrison rhetorically intervenes in markets in order to build equity in housing and schools where White public funds are insufficient.

Morrison, Watkins, and Washington are different from other Black intellectuals who merely make arguments regarding Black independence through economic empowerment. Differently from the intellectual and spiritual resources delivered by W.E.B Dubois, Stokely Carmichael, or even Malcolm X, Washington and his rhetorical

descendants, Watkins and Morrison, respond to the commodification of Black folks by rhetorically intervening in markets and building sustainable organizations for the benefit of Black folks. The new Black empowerment rhetoric is more than language, it is material.

Conclusion

The ideograph of <freedom> helps us view how a Washingtonian rhetoric of market intervention connects with and benefits Black publics in the here and now, and, how definitions of <freedom> for consumer auditors can be manipulated to serve marginalized peoples and push back against oppression. No longer can Black resistance merely be codified in the temporary mobilization of Black protest and Twitter retweets, but instead, must be codified in sustainable businesses that hold the power to structure human activity for the benefit of Black people in perpetuity. Protest and traditional forms of direct activism will always be required, but until Black empowerment and equity is systematized through a language of finance and capital, the definite phonics of the corporate state, there is little hope to deeply modify the capitalist psychosis or the public Orientation of Markets 1,500 years in the making. Absent an understanding of Washington's rhetoric of market intervention, scholars will continue to speak about a "neoliberalizing" world,¹¹⁴ without considering that the way to undo neoliberalism's tyranny is to turn capital back on itself via rhetorical intervention in markets. The way to challenge dominant orientations of capital is to take the pragmatically build the organizations we wish to see for the publics most in need.

Our opportunities for building the organizations we wish to see for the communities most in need are only increasing: At the time of this writing, cryptocurrencies offer the chance to decentralize commercial exchange away from governmental bodies. Governmental regulation and taxation will increase on these digital assets, but digital currencies will retain their obstinate capacity to undermine government control even if only illegally. For our purposes, what is important is to imagine the ways in which blockchain and digital technologies decentralize the way in which marginalized groups can organize, deploy resources, and intervene in markets. The digital age, including digital marketing and digital currencies enable the construction of entire industries with lower startup costs, but a greater demand for rhetorical ability. Rhetoricians can take part in working toward the practical good in the world by helping to craft messages and images that adjust society toward greater phronetic action. Given <freedom> as common American ideograph, blockchain and digital technologies, even those that threaten government centralization of capital will not be stopped. These technologies may come to be harshly regulated, but they offer a more secure pathway to storing Capital and amalgamating property across borders. As pragmatic rhetorical scholars, we have the responsibility of tracking how these new technologies create spaces for altering public consciousness and the myriad opportunities for state resistance that emerge because of their mass adoption.

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Conclusion: Up from Washington- Pragmatic Black Empowerment

How long will we watch Black bodies become dismantled in the streets? How long will we pretend that a political engagement absent financial incentives can be wholly powerful? Why do we continue to look to non-violent protest as the primary available means of persuasion possible in the modern scene? Black empowerment must become more than reactionary, it must take the steps toward building the world Black folks wish to participate in. What if Black folks opted to self-educate their own children through digital technologies governed by Black educational leaders rather than be subjected continually to dilapidated school systems? What if Black folks made use of the lending and banking practices in this country by consolidating resources in Black banks in order to facilitate realty purchases, including hospitals and housing? What if Black folks created apprenticeship programs where students can help build industries and incomes as they learn to build businesses from small business owners? These are the phronetic steps toward participation, community, and solvency. Such economic empowerment campaigns are powerful additions to contemporary models of Black resistance.

Notice the economic obstacles prevalent in the modern state. Even community-oriented gardens, designed to create food security in urban environments, catch the eyes of wealthy entrepreneurs who have the financial power and subsequent political backing of the state to grab and maintain land, demonstrating that in the modern scheme, financial capital *is a more dominant species of* social capital. As Adrian Parr admits:

Unfortunately, the ‘social capital’ generated by the community gardens also attracts the interest of predatory investors. Community urban

agriculture in downtown Detroit caught the attention of millionaire financier John Hantz, who in consultation with the Kellogg Foundation saw a tremendous business opportunity in turning vacant city-owned downtown lots into ‘the world’s largest farm’ – Hantz Woodlands. The aim is clear: create land scarcity where there currently is none and drive up its value along with producing food for the market. Hantz intends to invest \$30 million of his own cash to beautify the downtown fields of Detroit with orchards and develop for-profit farms, maximizing the productivity of the small plots with the latest in green technologies (compost-heated greenhouses and hydroponic growing systems). In order to realize his vision, Hantz requested that the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation give him tax-delinquent land in addition to the land he purchases (at below market rate). In this instance, the value of the land does not equate with its price.¹

John Hantz petitions the state in order to acquire “tax delinquent” lands. By cutting a deal with the state, Hantz relieved government of its financial burden in unpaid taxes and walked off with large swaths of Detroit land and property as a reward. The failure of rhetorical scholars to recognize that financial capital is always-already a socially agreed upon system of collective action and, therefore, the most dominant form of *social capital* backed by citizens and political leaders, causes scholars to make unnecessary bifurcations between “capital” and “social capital.” Such a mistake misses several opportunities for modern resistance *with* capital because it overlooks the basic Orientation of Markets to which the public is geared. The Detroit Black Community Food Security Network “links the struggles of population shrinkage and available land to other struggles over unemployment.”² The liberal thought that employment, education, and equality appeals can bring about necessary changes in discriminatory practices and modes of thinking in a White supremacist system are misplaced. It is the reason Parr calls this approach “admittedly utopian.”³

When Black collective initiatives like community gardens are most successful, it is because of the creation of coordinated and prudent value from community members. There is a way to coordinate time, resources, and experience into a common goal and vision that produces sustainable development and is backed by the state in deeply habituated and patterned ways: businesses. Where people are willing to coordinate with one another in order to achieve a common goal and produce profits that make continued efforts possible, only physical and likely unconstitutional interventions can halt African American movement. While such interventions are not unlikely within a system of White supremacy governed by an Orientation of Markets, they will not move Black folks any lower in social position than they are now. In other words, Black folks have little to lose in making the effort. After all, Black folks are most likely to be protected from restrictions to direct market participation within a capitalist psychotic scheme as the Orientation of Markets prizes capital proliferation above all else. Booker T. Washington's rhetoric suggests that we capitalize on this market momentum and establish businesses for the common good.

There is nothing new about Black entrepreneurship and business as a means toward greater equity and resources. Wayne VILLEMEZ and John BEGGS argue that Black capitalism has positive net effects on the total well-being of Black non-capitalists by elevating group status and group power.⁴ In other words, Black folks gain greater self-esteem when they see other Black folks successfully operating in spaces otherwise restricted by a White power structure. In an era of Black Power and radicalism, Richard Nixon authorized Black capitalism to deter Blacks from destroying private property,

creating the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) in order to facilitate Black economic efforts. While the OMBE did very little to ameliorate Black economic empowerment, Nixon believed:

...that Blacks could launch an effective attack on Black poverty (despite African Americans' exclusion from the national power structure). He viewed the various 'local development projects, small business programs, job training, consumer education, vocational guidance, school improvement, and other community programs' as both useful to African Americans and nonthreatening to the national power structure (which recognized that Blacks had to be placated in some way).⁵

However, reconstructing Washington's rhetoric shows us how market intervention is more than collecting resources for Black use. Market intervention is necessary for the kinds of foundational changes to racialized public consciousness in the American scene. It is to this affect that Washington connects Black freedom with economic opportunity by relying on the rhetorical resource of orientation and piety. In doing so, Washington persuades his audience that Black economic prosperity and education are better for the South and the nation than stagnate political options. Here, Washington makes use of the schema of orientation most prominent in the American setting: The Orientation of Markets. Noticing the South's almost exclusive focus on political rights, Washington argued that Black and White equity will not be attained with traditional, rights-based methods. Indeed, the overemphasis on political solutions to fundamentally ideological problems, nascent in the years of Reconstruction, serves as evidence.⁶

Washington is clear: political protest and lobbying harbor no long-term benefits given the social reality of White supremacy. If even Frederick Douglass, regarded as the most influential Black man in the South during the nineteenth century by Washington, is

unable to influence state offices toward greater civil access for Blacks, then the problem of Black inequity does not result from being “unheard” by White folks, but from being rejected by White folks. Fundamentally, then, the real problem is bound to a Burkean notion of orientation.⁷ Specifically, an orientation toward habits of capitalism and markets over and against orientations of democracy. The Orientation of Markets presides over other socio-political possibilities. If we are sincere in our attempt to attain greater services, greater access to education and wealth *even* within the Orientation of Markets, then we must make use of effective market intervention, building or dismantling divine symbols of business, as a practical strategy of resistance.

WASHINGTON, VALUE BUILDING AND PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS

In revisiting Booker T. Washington, I have helped construct a larger argument for the ways in which markets foster public consciousness. Slave advertisements reflected centuries of belief constructing Blacks as essentially criminal, deviant and worthy of capture. The very markets that offered humans for sale also authorized the mistreatment of those humans as inferior chattel in public consciousness. I have argued that the basic notion of Blacks as essentially deviants is birthed from marketplace behavior surrounding slavery. The Orientation of Markets has created a world dominated by market logics and market action. What other social force is so systemic, ubiquitous and engaged in everyday by practically every member of the human species? Markets are primary in adjusting humans to people, places, and things.

If social relations are currently organized in and around commerce, then subtle changes in commerce, both in what products and services are offered and in what consumers habitually purchase, modify the kinds of possibilities readily available within the social scene. Washington's massive institution allowed him to help create a school designed for the benefit of Black teachers. His marketing efforts doubled both to secure funds and to influence White public perception. It is not the case that Washington single handedly changed the face of Black education, making it acceptable to Whites, for historically Black colleges already existed at the time Tuskegee Institute began. Instead, Washington's program goaded Northern Whites to fund Black business and ownership initiatives, even if Whites were unaware of the gravity of their actions. Washington's program specifically led to the creation of tens of dozens of Black schools in the South and raised so much capital that Tuskegee still exists as a private institution. In this, Washington succeeded in changing White perception of Black education, from a pure investment in liberal education to an investment in Southern Black economic security, through his rhetorical documents *Up from Slavery*, *The Negro in Business*, *Tuskegee and its People*, as well as in his public address and his massive sales and marketing force.

I assert that the intersection of capitalism, business, and governance offers a profitable synthesis of pragmatism, phronesis and rhetoric. Thus far, rhetorical scholars have not done well in *applying* rhetorical solutions to everyday life. As a philosophical doctrine and tradition, birthed in the 19th century and supported heavily throughout the twentieth century, American pragmatism states that ideational consequences ought to be determined by their "cash value" or practical benefit to human action, thus, an idea is

valuable if it delivers good consequences within our actual, lived experience. Rhetorical scholars have completed plenty of groundwork when it comes to linking pragmatism with rhetoric, thinking about pragmatic rhetorical deliberation, the uses of aesthetic experience and mindfulness, and the role of pragmatist rhetoric in facilitating a greater public.⁸

However, little has been done in articulating the way in which pragmatic rhetoric can help us put food on the table. Prudent rhetorical pragmatism must address the exigencies of practical application for real people. It is not enough to imagine empowerment campaigns along purely spiritual or intangible and ethereal lines, it is no longer enough to image political solutions that do not account for the everyday needs of “freedom fighters.” Instead, what is called for is a pragmatic phronesis in rhetoric. A basic way to deliberate upon the good in a practically wise manner for the greatest amount of people. Every form of scholarship must perfect the process of naming itself and sharing its value with others. In commerce, where the life of rhetoric is assuredly determined by its actual cash-value, I call the process of naming and creating value “rhetorical value building.” Rhetorical value building trades on psychological narratives and consequences of the past, on those ideas which have been built-out from prior cultural, political, and social moments.

The practical application of rhetorical value building is to make use of the stories we tell ourselves in order to adjust a person, product, service, or solution to our desirable suggestions for the common good. By examining the possibilities in which rhetorical value builders adjust people to ideas, marketplaces, and political ideologies, we can better understand how rhetoric functions practically in the world when the stakes are high, we

better see the practical “cash-value” of an idea or a series of rhetorical messages when actual “cash” is at stake. Moreover, understanding the way in which rhetorical value builders are operational in the world is an exercise in discovering the available means of persuasion for actual *doing* in the world, taking us a step beyond pure rhetorical criticism and into an arena of applied rhetoric. Here, we analyze the structure of duplicable rhetorical messages and ask why, how, and when they work. In this way, we build action steps along with pragmatic rhetorical theory. We also begin to understand the psychic traumas that constitute a national or collective “self-hood.” Whether we are concerned with keeping a discipline alive, with creating monetary and social reform, or with getting others to think differently about climate change, we need to understand the historical, emergent, and psychologically entrenched narratives, or *brands*, that have taken formation, decipher their foundations and their duplicable applications, and employ similar strategies to garner the kinds of consequences that line up with the “truth” or “good” we believe in. To understand rhetorical value building is to understand how to change public perception regarding any range of issues from racial social justice to a new flavor of soda.

A phronetic orientation toward rhetoric can help us understand how the process of branding is fundamentally rhetorical and how these rhetorical messages adjust populations to new products, ideas and ways of living and being. The process of adjusting people to one’s ideas, products, and services is an ancient idea. Human beings have always had to engage in persuasion in order to generate a new pattern of thinking among one’s fellows. Consider three features of my approach to a focus on rhetorical value

building: 1) Rhetorical value building provides tangible monetary rewards (cash-value) as one communicates that which is “valuable” to a population; 2) Rhetorical value building can help facilitate better citizenship in a Deweyan sense; and 3) Rhetorical value building can change the state of communal interaction.

Given that rhetorical value building is the deliberative process of selecting that which is treasured to a community and providing solutions that are commensurate with that community’s values, there are few exemplars of value building that compare to the rhetoric of Booker T. Washington. An occluded figure in the pragmatist tradition,⁹ Washington is a branding genius and pragmatic rhetorician. Washington is concerned with the most practical ideas to secure freedom for Black folks. Washington is clear that he cares only for those strategies that will “work” in lived experience. In order to create a practical strategy, Washington homed in on that which is valuable to a financially depressed, White Southerner in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: *Economic security*. Washington was also aware of Black folks in the South that require freedom from antagonism *and* economic security. Juggling these needs, Washington constructed a message that adjusted the needs of Black freedom to the needs of White freedom on common, economic terms. Washington’s brand of self-sufficiency, economic ownership, and appropriate fraternity won White folks over.¹⁰ Regarding Washington, war correspondents wrote that a Negro Moses stood before a great audience and delivered an address that marked a new era in the South.¹¹ Washington’s rhetoric sought to: 1) Secure tangible monetary rewards for his Tuskegee Institute from White and Black folks alike; 2) Adjust White folks to Black needs on the grounds that Black economic freedom

created safer voters with more at stake during election time; and 3) Change the state of communal antagonism over Black wealth by convincing White folks that Black financial freedom supports White financial freedom in an interdependent economy. A century after his death, Washington's Tuskegee Institute is still thriving in the wake of his rhetorical value building legacy and the public still argue the merits of Black capitalism as a form of political expression. Washington's primary goal of Black education was concerned with living communally beyond a racial divide.¹² In this way, Washington and Dewey had similar objectives in educating and adjusting citizens: "not only does social life demand teaching and learning for its own permanence, but the very process of living together educates. It enlarges and enlightens experience."¹³

Similarly, David Ogilvy provides a way to systemize rhetorical messages into actionable steps that can be duplicated and followed. Consider how Ogilvy critiques marketing and brand strategies in order to develop a practical orientation toward rhetorical value building in advertising: "The wrong advertising can actually *reduce* the sales of a product."¹⁴ In other words, the wrong use of visual and discursive rhetorical tools has deleterious effects on prices. For Ogilvy, rhetorical value building can be used to challenge oppositional rhetoric, construct organizations, and contest dominant powers. Business (like political) campaigns depend on the ability to deploy rhetorical strategies to achieve superior positioning over powerful competitors:

In Norway, the SAAB car had no measurable profile. We positioned it as a car for *winter*. Three years later it was voted the *best* car for Norwegian winters. To advertise a car that looked like an orthopedic boot would have defeated me. But Bill Bernbach and his merry men positioned Volkswagen as a protest against the vulgarity of Detroit cars in those days,

thereby making the Beetle a cult among those Americans who eschew conspicuous consumption.¹⁵

How did advertisers rhetorically adjust Americans away from locally manufactured vehicles to foreign ones? They were first to listen to American problems. Where 1960s car ownership depended on frequent oil changes, anti-freeze exchanges, and new tires, Volkswagen advertisers stated:

Nobody even stares at our shape. In fact, some people who drive our little flivver don't even think 32 miles to the gallon is going any great guns. Or using five pints of oil instead of five quarts. Or never needing anti-freeze. Or racking up 40,000 miles on a set of tires. That's because once you get used to some of our economies, you don't even think about them anymore.¹⁶

According to Ogilvy, great rhetoricians *listen* first to the pains of their constituency.

Ogilvy also make it clear that the rhetorical force of an advertisement should have a visceral impact in the body, "Did it make me gasp when I first saw it?"¹⁷

Through Ogilvy's work, we understand that rhetorical value building is successful when it is adjusted practically to the needs of an audience. For pragmatist rhetoricians, a focus on rhetorical value building helps identify a basic structure of rhetorical strategy in real world marketplaces where the perceived stakes are highest. While understanding structures of rhetorical effectiveness are useful in marketplaces, it is also important to think about how these structures might be useful for creating better democracy and business objectives. Creating effective strategies for marketplaces and for democratic participation require a more enhanced and nuanced understanding of collective narratives, historical trajectories, and public "wants." Pragmatism in rhetoric can help us find powerful strategies that navigate this terrain and ultimately help us better adjust government, people, products and ideas to the relevant needs of society.

Rhetorical scholars of Booker T. Washington have failed to realize the depth of his argument. Robert Heath, for example, suggests that Washington should have kept quiet and “would have represented his people more effectively by not speaking if he was unwilling to criticize the racial conditions in the South.”¹⁸ Such an analysis misses the primary reason for Washington’s speaking engagements: to market and secure White donations for Tuskegee for the benefit of Black society. As I have shown, Washington’s ability to intervene in markets, given the Orientation of Markets and its attendant capitalist psychosis, the pervading tendency to see the world in terms of surplus, is a pragmatic and prudent answer for creating systemic change in Black social life. The logic is simple: Businesses are systems. They structure our daily habits of participation. Businesses can be used in order to deliver real value and service to people in need and in line with democratic participation. Productive business organizations built on behalf of the public good constitute a resistance strategy against state violence because their existence is authorized by the corporate state itself.

Conceptualizing Washington’s prudent, pragmatic rhetorical value builder model is important for several reasons: First, Washington’s program of action reaches beyond a mere “self-help” narrative and does more than critics such as Bradford Vivian, Andrew King, Thomas Harris, and Patrick Kennicott say,¹⁹ in W.E.B. Dubois’s terms: “shift[ing] the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro’s shoulders.”²⁰ By positioning racism as a common enemy, irrespective of race, Washington articulates a world of political and material agency in favor of Southern Black prosperity in terms White southerners could accommodate. Second, by illustrating a fundamental economic interdependence between

Black and White life, Washington becomes a rhetorical value builder to situate Black folks as an integral component of the Southern economy and White prosperity. Third, Washington's persuasive reconfiguration of Black education, one that includes industrial and classical education, refuses to shut any doors on Black possibilities, acknowledges the desires of the Black liberal elite, like Dubois, and weds classical education to Black empowerment and success. Finally, while too many of Washington's critics continue to identify Washington as an "accommodationist" or "compromiser."²¹ Washington's public ability to speak within the norms of the rhetorical culture in which he found himself allowed him to insist on Black voting and economic security in a historical era of roll backs is a brave and uncompromising position.

To understand how Washington deploys a prudent, pragmatic rhetorical value builder model is to imagine a new method of resistance and empowerment. Washington's notion of "ownership" is a key component to which future rhetorical scholars ought to pay attention. Washington did not call for mere subservience in the market place, for Black folks to be mere laborers. Instead, Washington sees that poverty continues for those who hold neither "houses, nor railroads, nor bank stock, nor factories, nor coal and gold mines."²² As Melbourne Cummings says,

It seems that rhetorically and historically, Washington was a movement all in himself. He was able to secure money from previously and 'tight fisted' Whites in order to build and maintain a school for Blacks, when no one else was able to do so.²³

Washington's rhetorical program of action, then, can be viewed as a form of force and resistance, not by a refusal of market participation, but by ownership over critical resources that constitute markets. In no way do I assume that Washington's program of

action represents *the* answer to modern race-problems. Instead, Washington's rhetorical program of pragmatic entrepreneurship represents one counter-public among many that seeks to establish a political and material reality for Blacks held historically and contemporarily at a distance by the State. In terms of race and pragmatic rhetorical value building, Washington's position, in the end, is quite like the position of Dubois.

Washington's opponents mischaracterize Washington as dismissing classical education and the subsequent spiritual and aesthetic development education brings to Black folks. From Dubois:

But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting...and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds...we must unceasingly and firmly oppose him.²⁴

To address this critique, Washington deploys prudent, pragmatic rhetorical value building to wed the benefits of classical education with his own program of economic action, maintaining the desired ends of his Black and White community members. To do this, Washington argued that where there is great poverty, there is no access to classical education.²⁵ Further, the pursuit of material wealth is meant to coexist alongside the pursuit of liberal education and the development of new aesthetics. Rather than view classical education and ownership as mutually exclusive, Washington argued that education and ownership can be mutually constitutive, each helping to evolve the other. Pointing to George W. Carver, then Director of Agriculture at Tuskegee, Washington argued that classical education helped Carver identify "valuable mineral deposit, used in making a certain kind of paint."²⁶ This discovery led to the formation of a public stock company that developed Carver's technology into a product for the market. What is most

important here is the fact that Black scholars (George W. Carver) are lauded by White peers and brought in to work beside White professionals despite an otherwise racially hostile environment as long as they demonstrate financial profitability to Whites. While Washington does not state whether Whites are resistant to Black liberal education, he does make clear that industrial education is accepted by White folks and useful to the communal good precisely because of its perceived profitability. Washington also recommends and gets White folks to *invest* in Black industrial/business training as donors.

Considering the Duboisian critique regarding liberal education, Washington envisions classical learning as co-existing alongside industrial training in the Black community:

All are beginning to see that it was never meant that all Negro youths should secure industrial education, any more than it is meant that all White youths should pass through the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.²⁷ Washington holds that the best industrial education ought to be “combined, as it

should be, with the best education of head and heart.”²⁸ Importantly, however, Washington sees that business training and material prosperity must be achieved first: “while the Negro youth who becomes skilled in agriculture and a successful farmer may not be able himself to pass through a purely literary college, he is laying the foundation for his children and grandchildren to do it if desirable.”²⁹ Washington believes that industrial education contributes to greater access to classical education for Black people. Industrial education and equity, then, are means to set right the material conditions, including access to a liberal education, often manipulated by “designing politicians.”³⁰ Industrial training is a potential pathway to the communal good of Black independence

and collective racial reform. This adept reconfiguration of education is important for it allows for the possibility of ownership, political and material development and the potential of liberal instruction for Black folks. Careful to address the concerns regarding education of the Black liberal elite, like Dubois, while tending to the material outcomes of the common Black and White laborer, Washington upholds communal fraternity as a primary good and embodies authentic reform by a rhetorical value builder model that displays the profitable benefits of Black education to White folks.

In Chapter 1, I demonstrated how the public Orientation of Markets follows from a prior era of feudalism and a racialized history of subjugation. I have shown how the Orientation of Markets is built out from centuries of market habits, of buying and selling people particularly on racialized terms, extending through the era of Western colonialism into the era of globalization. Cedric Robinson argues that race and capital have worked together to form a ubiquitous iron-cage for humanity. The deeply habituated patterns of commoditizing human beings and activities for the pursuit of security and safety constructs what I have called the Orientation of Markets, the patterned way in which the European imagination seeks to pursue surplus even at the expense of human communities and natural resources. I have articulated how this orientation spread throughout the world with colonization and became an ascendant mode of seeing that continues to bend human actions toward the dimensions of trade and commerce typically at the expense of others. The Orientation of Markets is the true culprit behind rapid privatization and expansion scholars have labeled “neoliberal policies.” Thus, if we want to understand neoliberal

politics and work toward practical solutions, we must understand the deeply patterned and habituated orientations by which the modern public operates.³¹

In Chapter 2, I showcased how Washington's work reminds us that in a system of domineering White supremacy, the possibility for Black political control is an uncertain prospect. That is, political suffrage alone, cannot be relied upon to secure Black freedom: "the opportunity to freely exercise such political rights will not come in any large degree through outside or artificial forcing, but will be accorded to the Negro by the Southern White people themselves."³² I have argued that movements such as Occupy and Black Lives Matter are great for building awareness around a social issue and generating dollars for additional organizing,³³ but they lack phronesis and are less effective at creating practical, tangible results for the constituency for whom they were called to represent. Indeed, these movements are often undermined by a fearful state surveillance and eventually brought to the point of non-use. By contrast, I have shown how Washington phronetically intervenes in markets for direct, practical, and tangible results for Black people. In the very marketing of Tuskegee as a brand, Washington addresses White conceptions of Black criminality. In so doing, not only does Washington help to dispel common myths about an inferior Black essence, Washington leverages his message in order to create supporters of Black education and business development. In other words, Washington does not merely settle for changing minds, he makes use of the act of persuasion by securing funding and resources for the perpetual development of the Black community.

Chapter 3 illustrates how Washington offers a finer sense of persuasion and rhetorical force, a finer version of audience value that considers the needs of his Black and White communal auditor for the tangible benefit of Black people. Thus, Washington argued that White people must come to step away from the fear of Black folks and reconnect with a common purpose. If racial hatred and integration are to be made possible, not just in policy but in practice, White folks must come to see the value of integration for themselves. Washington's sentiment is not far away from James Baldwin, who, nearly 60 years later wrote that the end of racism requires not just Black enfranchisement, but a White understanding and refusal of White bigotry, a sense of fraternity and community among human beings.³⁴ To build a case of value for White folks on behalf of Black people, Washington functions as a rhetorical value builder, a rhetor who understands and speaks to the deep needs of his auditor.

In Chapter 4, I illuminate Washington's rhetorical deployment of <freedom> to connect with his consumer auditor. Washington asserts, "Many realized that the South would be tying itself to a body of death if it did not help the Negro up" and "the South is more and more realizing that it cannot keep pace with the progress being made in other parts of the country if a third of its population is ignorant and without skill."³⁵ In these passages, Washington makes clear that economies, like communities, are interconnected: the aggression bestowed to any population in society will be felt by everyone, to whatever degree, in society. Moreover, Washington ties coercion into his persuasive message. Not only does Washington take the implied viewpoint of the White southerner who already "is realizing" that Black folks are essential to a booming economy and

White capital, but Washington tacitly suggests that financial destitution is the fate of a South that continues to raise Black folks “ignorant and without skill.” Washington deploys coercion that holds out the consequences of racial oppression before his audience and ties them to the economic consequences of an untrained and unmotivated Black citizenry. In other words, Washington presses an argument that White economic and material solvency, or White prosperity, relates to Black prosperity and subsequently asserts that Blacks ought to be included in the financial agenda of the state. For, in order to compete with “foreigners” entering other parts of the United States, African Americans must become a central empowered fixture. Should Black Americans go unaided, the South, and American by extension will suffer the deterioration made possible from a basic inability to produce for itself.³⁶

Still working toward a prudent solution, Washington demonstrates how an integrated economy is useful for both Whites and Blacks. For Black folks, industrial labor provides a way to secure material realities held historically at a distance: “It is now seen that the result of such education will be to help the Black man to make for himself an independent place in our great American life.”³⁷ Washington’s notion of Black economic control, sanctioned through the ideograph of <freedom>, continues into the current moment through rhetor entrepreneurs like Boyce Watkins and Jay Morrison. Black rhetor entrepreneurs understand that the ability to build sustainable organizations is the pragmatic and prudent approach to solving for the deep needs of the Black community in a systematic fashion.

This dissertation has drawn upon the pragmatist tradition in rhetoric not only because of its historical orientation and focus, but also through using *phronesis* or prudence as a basic characteristic of Washington's rhetorical program of Black empowerment. Washington *phronetically* stays within the norms of the economic rhetorical culture in which he finds himself. This is helpful for a few reasons: First, it enables him to avoid physical threats from White lynch mobs. Second, it enables him to speak to Northern Whites on behalf of Southern Whites and Blacks. Third, it enables Washington to build a sustainable institution for the benefit of Black folks that remains over 100 years after his death. At no point in this project do I assume or assert that building businesses for the benefit of Black folks is the only, silver-bullet solution, over and against all other forms of protest and resistance. I assert, however, that organizations are a dramatic site of resistance for Black folks, both as a mode of delivery of needed goods and as a site of destruction in collective deliberation and bargaining. In other words, Black folks must think of businesses, the places of divine authority under a capitalist psychosis, as the site where resources can be deployed to those in need and as sites where resources can be taken away from the irresponsible. Here, commercial boycotts and walk-outs are just as valuable as a new startup designed to crowdfund diverse enterprises. By staying within the norms of the rhetorical culture, by leveraging the Orientation of Markets for the public good, rhetors act with practical judgment, securing resources for the forgotten while being undetected by a corporate state apparatus.

This dissertation succeeds in three primary ways: Intellectually, by adding to the neoliberal conversation. Rhetorically, by adding to the notion of prudence, and practically, by creating an empowerment campaign based upon a rhetorical intervention in markets. First, by reinterpreting the fundamental history of the economic world, this dissertation helps to better contextualize neoliberalism and move scholars beyond the concept of *There is No Alternative* discourse. Second, by focusing on prudence in Washington's rhetoric, I have tacitly argued that phronesis requires a historical awareness of the basic orientations, such as the Orientation of Markets, that govern our lives and must be adjusted for the rhetorical culture in which it is called to address. Third, this project offers a solution to the practical exigencies of people in need in the current moment. I have shown how the pathway to Black empowerment and resistance movements involves rhetorical market intervention, either to build organizations that deliver tangible value to their consumers or to withhold exchange in order to starve organizations that do not offer value.

What is required for true Black empowerment are pragmatic counter discourses and communities with overlapping but distinct interests. It is not accurate to say that traditional protest movements and economic empowerment initiatives are worthless; they are effective at accomplishing a certain kind of task. It is not accurate to say that rhetorical value building is the one and only solution; it is effective at accomplishing a certain kind of task, the task of aligning massive monetary symbols and market orientations with the goals of Black empowerment.

Future scholars must continue to search for the ways in which opportunities for resistance are made possible at the sites of capital, race, and politics. All the while, scholars must keep in mind that capital, race and politics are not separate components, but are bound to a corporate state 1,500 years in the making. Scholars ought to think about the ways in which digital technologies and businesses can be leveraged as sites of resistance.

If market intervention is a true place of resistance, it is paramount that scholars learn to analyze market movements in response to rhetorical methods deployed in marketing campaigns. If we seek to track the ways in which people are goaded into supporting corporations that do not carry the public's concerns with them, then it is important to analyze the discourses corporations intercept and deploy in order to move the public's support. More importantly, for empowerment and resistance campaigns, it is important to boycott and walkout on businesses that do not support the public or global good. Consumers, like citizens, must recognize their collective power. When consumers purchase shares of stocks, they should attend the stock meetings and show up as a collective "people" willing to pursue the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people. In addition, political lobbying, marching and protest ought to be used to generate awareness for social issues, but ultimately, senators, governors and representatives must be understood as a kind of consumer with special ties and needs. To put pressure on politicians, the rhetorical value builder does not necessarily need to persuade *just* the primary governor or set of representatives, instead, the rhetorical value builder ought to

build a case for boycott of the set of business that undoubtedly funded the campaign of said governors or set of representatives.

Black empowerment and resistance must go beyond level one: A basic display of public disagreement. Our resistance must seek to better the organizations that govern and must speak to the corporate state in terms the state understands: markets and capital. While this argument may sound similar to others in the commodity activist camp, my argument is different primarily because it is concerned with taking the pragmatic step toward building the organizations we wish to see in the world and doing the work we wish to see done in the world on a sustainable basis. Given an Orientation of Markets, this work speaks against the corporate state by securing the resources the state has held at a distance from those most vulnerable. I am not speaking about non-profits, for those can be commandeered by government at any time, I am speaking about capital producing businesses, supported with real assets that deliver value to those most in need. I am making a familiar call for social entrepreneurship on a Black radical basis.

Washington is steeped firmly in a Black radical tradition. In the same way that Frank Wilderson III argues that we cannot speak our way to freedom given the Black body's tight symbolic linkage with a non-White,³⁸ permanent underclass, so too does Washington believe that a mere politics of speech must be radically transformed before it can be effective:

We cannot talk our way into our rights; we must work our way, think our way, into them. And you will find that just in proportion as we do this, we are going to get all we deserve.³⁹

Jane Gottschalk misses Washington's rhetorical prowess, arguing instead that Washington provided little for intellectuals "who was not naturally suited to work with

his hands.”⁴⁰ Washington indicates a firmer argument about the nature of politics and Black suffering. Washington’s ultimate argument is not about economic security, but about Black freedom. Historical orientations toward capital and markets preclude Black freedom on a moral basis alone. This is the reason the Civil Rights movement is lauded as the most successful social movements of the twentieth century, even though segregation, income inequality, White on Black lynching, voter suppression and subtle forms of corporate Jim Crow still existed after the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights legislation.⁴¹ There is no way to legislate away the hearts of White supremacists or a public guided by the Orientation of Markets. The basic fear of White material insecurity is the foundation of White supremacy and the driving force behind market participation and behavior. Washington’s suggestion that we must work and think our way into rights is a proclamation that we must understand the terms of the rhetorical culture, the Orientation of Markets, within which we are situated and begin to work to build the society we most want to see.

There is an open field where people are met with little resistance under the regime of the corporate state, this opportunity should not be dismissed because it is unconventional. This opportunity for empowerment is awesome precisely because of its overt conformity to a capitalist psychosis and its tacit heart for the public good. If we can even fathom a world absent the Orientation of Markets, it will begin here, right where we are, with a single piece of brick or code, with organizations that structure the daily habits of people, society and resources differently.

Notes

¹ Adrian Parr. "Urban Debt, Neoliberalism and the Politics of the Commons." *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 3 (2015): 13.

² Parr. "Urban Debt." 18.

³ Parr. "Urban Debt." 19.

⁴ Wayne J. Vilemez and John J. Beggs. "Black Capitalism and Black Inequality: Some Sociological Considerations." *Social Forces* 63, no. 1 (1984): 117-144.

⁵ Robert E. Weems Jr. and Lewis A. Randolph. "The National Response to Richard M. Nixon's Black Capitalism Initiative: The Success of Domestic Detente." *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 1 (2001): 69.

⁶ Booker T. Washington. *The Negro in Business*. Hertel, Jenkins & Company, 1907.

⁷ Kenneth Burke. *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*. Univ of California Press, 1984.

⁸ Gloria McMillan. "Keeping the Conversation Going: Jane Addams' Rhetorical Strategies in "A Modern Lear"." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2002): 61-75; Robert Danisch. *Pragmatism, Democracy, and the Necessity of Rhetoric*. Univ of South Carolina Press, 2007; Scott R. Stroud. "Mindful Argument, Deweyan Pragmatism, and the Ideal of Democracy." *Controversia* 7, no. 2 (2011): 15-34. Eric Thomas Weber. *Democracy and Leadership: On Pragmatism and Virtue*. Lexington Books, 2013.

⁹ Ronald E. Chennault. "Pragmatism and Progressivism in the Educational Thought and Practices of Booker T. Washington." *Philosophical Studies in Education* 44 (2013): 121-131; Bill Lawson. "Booker T. Washington: A Pragmatist at Work." *Pragmatism and the*

Problem of Race (2004): 125-141; Wilson J. Moses. "More Than an Artichoke: The Pragmatic Religion of Booker T. Washington." *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later.* Ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Gainesville: University Press of Florida(2003): 107-130; Jane Gottschalk. "The Rhetorical Strategy of Booker T. Washington." *Phylon* (1960-) 27, no. 4 (1966): 388-395.

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